Exile in the Middle Ages

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Exile in the Middle Ages

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and
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Abbreviations

AASS	*Acta sanctorum quotquot tot orbe colunteur*, 114 vols (Antwerp: Société des Bollandistes, 1643–1996)
ANS	*Anglo-Norman Studies*
BL	British Library, London
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Medievalis
CSEL	Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum
CTB	*The Correspondence of Thomas Becket Archbishop of Canterbury 1162–1170*, ed. and trans. by A. Duggan, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000)
DB, ed. by Farley	*Domesday Book seu Liber Censualis Wilhelmi primi regis Angliae*, ed. by A. Farley, 2 vols (London: Eyre and Strahan, 1783)
EHD I	*English Historical Documents*, vol. I, *c. 500–1042*, ed. and trans. by D. Whitelock (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955)
EHR	*English Historical Review*
Gilbert of Mons	Gilbert of Mons, *La Chronique de Gislebert de Mons*, ed. by Léon Vanderkindere, Commission Royale d'Histoire (Brussels: Librairie Kiessling, 1904)
GND	*The Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis and Robert of Torigni*, ed. and trans. by

	E. M. C. van Houts, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992–95)
HGC	*The History of Gruffydd ap Cynan*, ed. by Arthur Jones (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1910)
HGK	*Historia Gruffud vab Kenan*, ed. by D. Simon Evans (Cardiff: University of Wales Board of Celtic Studies, 1977)
HN	Eadmer, *Historia novorum in Anglia*, ed. by M. Rule, RS, 81
JMH	*Journal of Medieval History*
Letters of John of Salisbury	*The Letters of John of Salisbury,* ed. by E. Millor and C. Brooke, 2 vols, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979–86)
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
SRG	Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum
SRM	Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum
SS	Scriptores (in folio)
MPW	*A Mediaeval Prince of Wales: The Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan*, ed. by D. Simon Evans (Lampeter: Llanerch, 1990)
MTB	*Materials for the History of Archbishop Thomas Becket*, ed. by J. C. Robertson and J. B. Shepherd, RS, 67, 7 vols
Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*	Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and trans. by Marjorie Chibnall, 6 vols, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969–80)
Osbert of Clare, *Letters*	Osbert of Clare, *The Letters of Osbert of Clare*, ed. by E. W. Williamson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1929)
PL	Patrologia Latina, ed. by J.-P. Migne, 221 vols (Paris: [n. pub.], 1844–1903)
PRS	Pipe Roll Society
Ralph of Diceto	Ralph of Diceto, *Ymagines historiarum*, ed. by William Stubbs, RS, 68
RHDFE	*Revue historique de droit français et étranger*

RHF	*Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, 24 vols (Paris: [n. pub.], 1734–1904)
RS	Rolls Series: *Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores*, ed. by W. Stubbs and others, 99 vols (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1858–1911, repr. Wiesbaden: Kraus Reprint, 1964–65)
VA	*Vita Anselmi*, ed. by R. W. Southern (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962; repr. with corrections, 1972)
VGC	*Vita Griffini filii Conani: The Medieval Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan*, ed. by Paul Russell (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, forthcoming)

Preface

ELISABETH VAN HOUTS

Exile or banishment in the Middle Ages took many different forms. As a literary theme it has had a long tradition from the classical period right up to the Renaissance. Yet the question as to what extent fiction, if that is what the literary theme represented, reflected reality has remained elusive. The historical and legal phenomenon of exile is still a largely unexplored territory. In the medieval secular world it usually meant banishment of a person by a higher authority for political reasons. As a result, the exile left his lands and family for a shorter or longer period. Sometimes an exile did not wait to be expelled but left of his or her own accord. Leaving home to go on pilgrimage or, in the case of women, to marry someone abroad could also be experienced as a form of exile. In the ecclesiastical sphere two forms of exile stand out. Monasticism was experienced as a form of spiritual (permanent) exile from the secular world. Excommunication was a punishment exercised by the Church authorities in order to eject persons (often only temporarily) from the community of Christians. Banishment in its various guises as a form of social punishment is therefore the central theme of this volume on Exile in Middle Ages.

The book covers the period of the central Middle Ages from *c*. 900 to *c*. 1300 in Western Europe, though some chapters have a wider remit. Geographically, the focus is on Europe with special attention paid to the North Sea area in the widest sense, Scandinavia, and Italy. About half the chapters are devoted to bishops in exile, who travelled the length and width of Europe. The sources consulted by the contributors range widely from Latin and Greek texts across several vernacular languages, as well as representing the major genres of medieval narrative and documentary texts. Considerable attention, too, is paid to the fact that exile and banishment had repercussions for the exile's close kin and distant relatives (male and female). Hence gender forms an important tool in the study aimed at exploring and understanding the causes and effects of banishment in our period.

The book was conceived as a result of the International Medieval Congress at Leeds in 2002, where the majority of the present chapters, in early and raw versions,

were presented as papers. The editors are deeply indebted to the guidance received from Axel Müller, director of the International Medieval Congress at Leeds, and Simon Forde from the publishers at Brepols. They are most grateful to the two anonymous readers of the collection, whose comments and advice have been invaluable. The execution of the editorial stage of the work benefited from the support given to the editors by their Colleges. They would like to take this opportunity to express their gratitude to the Master and Fellows of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and the Master and Fellows of Pembroke College, Cambridge.

Introduction: Exile in Context

LAURA NAPRAN

Exile has been a consistent aspect of human life throughout history, as seen by political, sociological, and literary evidence. In our own times, Rowan Williams, archbishop of Canterbury, has eloquently explored the cultural concept of the individual's exile as a lost soul within modern society.[1] The focus of the present volume is exile in the medieval period. Exile or banning was a widespread customary practice in the Middle Ages, as a type of social punishment, correction, or coercion. It could take the form of enforced physical removal from a particular region, spiritual excommunication, or other sorts of social exclusion. Banishment could be a permanent expulsion or a more temporary measure dependent on local political circumstances.

The importance of exile within religious life has been a topic of study, especially in respect to voluntary separation from the secular community and the issue of sanctuary for outlaws. While even a cursory overview of the vast scholarship on monasticism is impossible within the scope of this introduction, it is relevant to draw attention to some recent works on the more extreme type of monastic withdrawal from society, that is, asceticism. An excellent collection of papers has been assembled on this topic, covering a wide chronological range, examining the views of many religions, and including approaches concerning gender.[2] A notable collection deals more exclusively with the male experience of monks and hermits, including the medieval period, while another recent work focuses on the Egyptian desert ascetics.[3] In respect

[1] R. Williams, *Lost Icons: Reflections on Cultural Bereavement* (London: T & T Clark, 2000).

[2] *Asceticism*, ed. by V. L. Wimbush and R. Valantasis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

[3] *Monks, Hermits and the Ascetic Tradition*, ed. by W. J. Sheils, Studies in Church History, 22 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985); J. E. Goehring, *Ascetics, Society, and the Desert: Studies in Egyptian Monasticism* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1999).

to sanctuary and the Church, the origins of asylum in churches in the fourth and fifth centuries have been examined, noting that the idea of sanctuary for refugees and social outcasts was championed by the likes of Basil of Caesarea (329–79), Saint Ambrose (*c*. 339–97), John Chrysostom (d. 407), and, particularly, Saint Augustine of Hippo (354–430).[4]

There is considerable scholarship devoted to the theme of exile in the literary tradition for both the classical and medieval periods. Of particular interest are studies on the theme of exile in the works of the Roman poet Ovid (43 BC–AD 17), himself a victim of banishment when, in AD 8, he was exiled to Tomi on the Black Sea. It has been suggested that Ovid is responsible for the creation of the 'myth of exile', giving it a universal psychological dimension.[5] Ovid's verse letters *Tristia* and *Epistulae ex Ponto* have been specifically analysed as exile poems.[6] Classical exile literature is, of course, not confined merely to Ovid, but also includes works by Cicero (106–43 BC), Dio Chrysostomus (*c*. 40–*c*. 120), Seneca the younger (4 BC–AD 65), and Boethius (*c*. 480–524), in which literature is used as a means for expressing social and political isolation.[7]

Ovid's influence on vernacular literature of exile in the Middle Ages is apparent. His works have been used by the Carolingian poets Theodolph, bishop of Orléans (d. 821), and Ermoldus Nigellus (early ninth century), while he was also a source of inspiration for Dante Alighieri (1265–1321).[8] Exile as a literary device in Dante has recently been particularly highlighted in scholarship, as has the importance of exile writing in Italian literature, specifically in the poetry of Cino da Pistoia (1270?–

[4] A. Ducloux, *Ad ecclesiam confugere: naissance du droit d'asile dans l'églises (IV^e^–milieu du V^e^ s.)* (Paris: De Boccard, 1994); Ducloux, 'La Violation du droit d'asile par "dol" en Gaule, au VI^e^ siècle', *Antiquité tardive*, 1 (1993), 207–19; Ducloux, 'L'église, l'asile et l'aide aux condamnés d'après la constitution du 27 juillet 398', *RHDFE*, 69 (1991), 141–76. Ducloux's work builds on and advances earlier scholarship, such as that by F. Martroye, 'L'asile et la législation impériale du IV^e^ au VI^e^ siècle', *Mémoire de la société des Antiquaires de France*, 5 (1919), 159–260; and E. Herman, 'Zum asylrecht im Byzantinischen Reich', *Orientalia Periodica*, 1 (1935), 204–23.

[5] G. D. Williams, *Banished Voices* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

[6] R. J. Dickinson, 'The *Tristia*: Poetry in Exile', in *Ovid*, ed. by J. W. Binns (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973), pp. 154–90; B. R. Nagle, *The Poetics of Exile: Program and Polemic in the Tristia and Epistulae ex Ponto of Ovid*, Collection Latomus, 170 (Brussels: Latomus, Revue d'Études Latines, 1980).

[7] J.-M. Claassen, *Displaced Persons: The Literature of Exile from Cicero to Boethius* (London: Duckworth, 1999).

[8] D. M. Robathan, 'Ovid in the Middle Ages', in *Ovid*, ed. by Binns, pp. 191–209; J. L. Smarr, 'Poets of Love and Exile', in *Dante and Ovid: Essays in Intertextuality*, ed. by M. U. Sowell, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 82 (Binghamton: State University of New York at Binghamton, 1991), pp. 139–51.

c. 1337).[9] The extent to which the literature of exile reflects contemporary issues in society is a hotly debated point. For Italy, it has been argued that we cannot divorce literary expressions of exile (for example in Dante, Giovanni Quirini (d. after 1327), and Petrarch (1304–74)) from political conflicts and landscapes of exile.[10] Such work raises an important question in relation to exile studies, that of the causal link between the literary theme of exile and the political circumstances of the time of writing. Whereas in Italy the city states used exile as temporary punishment on a large scale with the result that exiles can frequently be found in neighbouring cities, the appearance of exiles in an earlier period demands another explanation. The relatively sudden appearance of a cluster of exile literature for the period under review in this volume (*c*. 900–1300) concentrated on heroic outlaws, both real and legendary (such as Hereward the Wake, El Cid, Eustace the Monk, Fulk fitz Warin, and Robin Hood).[11] They are mostly exiled mercenaries of one type or another who were sent away, not from cities, but from much larger and less defined territorial areas, usually for relatively short periods of time. The exact administrative 'rules' for exile are not well known.

Indeed, for the most part, there has been a relative lack of historical and legal studies for the phenomenon of exile in Western Europe, particularly for our period of

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[9] C. Keen, 'The Language of Exile in Dante', *Reading Medieval Studies*, 27 (2001), 79–102; K. Biddick, 'Coming Out of Exile: Dante on the Orient(alism) Express', *American Historical Review*, 105.4 (2000), 1234–49; C. Keen, 'Images of Exile: Distance and Memory in the Poetry of Cino da Pistoia', *Italian Studies*, 55 (2000), 21–36.

[10] R. Starn, *Contrary Commonwealth: The Theme of Exile in Medieval and Renaissance Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).

[11] A sampling of publications relating to outlaws and literature: *Gesta Herewardi incliti exulis et militis*, in *Lestorie de Engles solum la translacion Maistre Geffrei Gaimar*, ed. by T. Hardy and C. T. Martin, RS, 91, I, 339–404; T. S. Jones, 'Fighting Men, Fighting Monsters: Outlawry, Masculinity, and Identity in the *Gesta Herewardi*', in *Marvels, Monsters, and Miracles: Studies in the Medieval and Early Modern Imaginations*, ed. by T. S. Jones and David A. Sprunger (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2002), pp. 182–201; *Li Romans de Witasse le moine: Roman du treizième siècle*, ed. by D. J. Conlon, Studies in Romance Languages and Literature, 126 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972); M. Keen, *The Outlaws of Medieval Legend*, new edn (New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 2000); *Robin Hood: An Anthology of Scholarship and Criticism*, ed. by S. Knight (Cambridge: Brewer, 1999); J. C. Holt, *Robin Hood*, rev. edn (London: Thames and Hudson, 1989); *Fouke le Fitz Waryn*, ed. by E. J. Hathaway and others (Oxford: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1975); *The World of El Cid: Chronicles of the Spanish Reconquest*, trans. by S. Barton and R. Fletcher (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000); E. Falque Rey, *Historia Roderici vel Gesta Roderici Campidocti*, in *Chronica Hispana Saeculi XII, Pars I*, ed. by E. Falque and others, CCCM, 71 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1990). It should also be noted that the theme of exile in *Beowulf* and Old English elegies has been the subject of studies such as S. B. Greenfield, *Hero and Exile: The Art of Old English Poetry*, ed. by G. W. Brown (London: Hambledon Press, 1989).

the High Middle Ages, even though there have been a number of regional studies which have provided useful and thought-provoking information on banishment and exile in the period before 1200, particularly for north-western Europe. Outlawry has been set in the context of English legal process, including excommunication as a form of spiritual outlawry.[12] Another important study focuses on Anglo-Saxon outlawry and its development from the Germanic tradition, highlighting 'loss of peace' (*Friedlosigkeit*) as a basic legal concept of punishment.[13] In a larger study of English criminal procedure, three discrete categories of outlawry have been distinguished, with the argument that Norman and Anglo-Saxon outlawry have considerable resemblance, just as the Merovingian and Carolingian legal systems have similarities to that of England.[14] A more recent study has examined the king's pardon in relation to fugitives in England, particularly for the thirteenth century.[15] This pardon was necessarily obtained through an intermediary, and specific procedures evolved to deal with particular circumstances such as manslaughter and excusable homicide.

The law of exile in Normandy in the eleventh century has been explored, suggesting that the roots of exile in this region are found in both the Frankish and Scandinavian past.[16] While banishment was one of the causes for Norman emigration to Italy and Spain, it was by no means the most important factor. Nonetheless, such exiles did comprise an important source for mercenary troops in Italy. The question of exile did occupy an important place in Norman ducal law during the eleventh century, but lost much of its significance in the subsequent century. A recent study on Anglo-Norman exile in the eleventh and twelfth centuries emphasizes that the majority of cases of banishment were temporary situations which provided time and space for offended and offending parties to cool off and reconsider their positions. The possibility of return precluded the need for vengeance by family members, as reconciliation was frequent.[17]

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[12] F. Pollock and F. W. Maitland, *The History of English Law before the Time of Edward I*, 2nd edn, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1898; repr. 1968), esp. I, 476–80; II, 449–51, 459, 461, 578–84, 593–94.

[13] F. Liebermann, 'Die Friedlosigkeit bei den Angelsachsen', in *Festschrift für Heinrich Brunner zum siebzigsten Geburtstag dargebracht von Schülern und Verehren* (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1910), pp. 17–37.

[14] J. Goebel, Jr, *Felony and Misdemeanor: A Study in the History of English Criminal Procedure, Vol. 1* (New York: Columbia University School of Law, 1937), esp. pp. 44–61.

[15] N. D. Hurnard, *The King's Pardon before AD 1307* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969).

[16] L. Musset, 'Autour des modalités juridiques de l'expansion normande au XI^e siècle: Le Droit d'exil', in *Autour du pouvoir ducal Normand X^e–XII^e siècles*, ed. by L. Musset, J.-M. Bouvris, J.-M. Maillefer, Cahier des Annales de Normandie, 17 (Caen: Centre d'Etudes normandes de l'Université de Caen, 1985), pp. 45–59.

[17] E. van Houts, 'L'exil dans l'espace Anglo-Normand', in *La Normandie et l'Angleterre au Moyen Âge, 4–7 Octobre 2001 Colloque Cerisy-la Salle*, ed. by V. Gazeau (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 75–85.

For the later Middle Ages, scholarship on exile in Italy provides innovative approaches. The political implications of exile in thirteenth- through fifteenth-century society has been examined, with examples drawn particularly from Florence and Genoa, as well as a collection of papers on the subject which span the period from the twelfth through the sixteenth centuries in Italy.[18] Extending past the medieval period, a recent study analyses the politics of exile for Renaissance Italy, with particular concentration on Siena, emphasizing the persistent fragmentation of Italian public life and the disunity of political elites as major factors in the realities of exile.[19] Interestingly, these works refrain from using secular medieval literature, such as that mentioned earlier when we discussed Ovid's legacy in Italy.

Another aspect of the study of exile, for which scholarship is yet scarce, is the anthropological and sociological view. A valuable contribution in this respect is a work on medieval Iceland, in which the 'wild' elements which conflicted with the strong concept of law within Icelandic society are examined.[20] Most notably, this work discusses the danger which men who lived outside the norms posed for a peaceful society, and the perceived relationship between anti-social elements, the spirit world, and untamed nature. The question of outcasts and social ties in early medieval Iceland has also been examined.[21] The author argues that the situation of outlawry reflects the increasing social stratification in the period from 900 through 1300. Expulsion included not only geographic exclusion, but also degradation by impoverishment, which directly affected the socio-economic status of the outlaw.

In this volume on exile, the most exciting aspect is the vast range of varieties of exile, and the considerable fluidity in contemporaneous understanding of the meaning of this state of being. In the introduction to his paper, Chris Lewis splendidly highlights the manifold types of exile, and points out that the medieval perception of exile may not always correspond with a modern interpretation of events. Anne Duggan opens with a view of the long tradition of varying forms of exile in the Latin West, pointing out that exile was not inevitably a bad circumstance, but could provide an opportunity for the broadening of experience and contacts. A startling viewpoint on exile is seen in Brian Briggs's article on Osbert of Clare, prior of

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[18] J. Heers, *L'esilio, la vita politica e la società nel medioevo* (Naples: Liguori, 1997); *Exil et civilisation en Italie XII^e–XVI^e siècles*, ed. by J. Heers and C. Bec (Nancy: Presses Universitaires de Nancy, 1990).

[19] C. Shaw, *The Politics of Exile in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

[20] K. Hastrup, *Culture and History in Medieval Iceland: An Anthropological Analysis of Structure and Change* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), esp. pp. 136–56.

[21] A. Breisch, *Frid och fredlöshet: Sociala band och utanförskap på Island under äldere medeltid*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia historica Upsaliensia, 174 (Uppsala: Uppsala University Press, 1994).

Westminster (d. *c*. 1160), who held the perception that the English people were exiled in situ while being ruled by a Danish king, suggesting that the mental concept of exclusion was more important than geographic displacement. Michael Staunton also notes an instance of exile within one's own land, when Herbert of Bosham accuses those English bishops who did not accompany Thomas Becket (*c*. 1118–70) into France of having fled in spirit to the enemy. John of Salisbury (*c*. 1120–80) writes of a sort of internal exile in respect to his brother who suffered public disgrace while remaining in England.

The number of papers which analyse the vocabulary of exile stresses the need to examine source texts critically to achieve a fuller understanding of the concept. Elisabeth van Houts traces the transmission of the Scandinavian terminology for 'outlaw' into Anglo-Saxon and Norman legal thinking as a result of the increasingly ethnic mix in England and Normandy through invasion and immigration. Yet this Scandinavian influence on vocabulary did not displace Latin exilic vocabulary, nor did it result in unity of perception concerning the concept of exile in the Anglo-Norman world or even in Scandinavia itself. She also notes that Icelandic evidence contains vocabulary which defines the types of outlawry more specifically than in other Scandinavian sources, and that the Icelandic vocabulary reflects this difference in the absence of loanwords. Ewan Johnson points out that the concept of exile in Normandy had a virtually metaphorical meaning, ranging from legal banishment to the exile from earth to heaven caused by death. Manuela Brito-Martins further expands the medieval concept of exile by drawing in the vocabulary of pilgrimage, *peregrinatio*, a concept which would have been known to medieval authors through classical works and Saint Augustine's writings. The notion of pilgrim as exile, both physically and spiritually, would have meshed well with the metaphorical use of the word 'exile' in Normandy, and would have been particularly appropriate during the crusading era. It is hardly surprising that the vocabulary of pilgrimage figures so strongly in the works of Abbot Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153), a strong proponent of the Second Crusade. Likewise, amongst bishops, John of Salisbury refers to his own pilgrimage, and Thomas Becket's exile was most often termed a *peregrinatio*, suggesting their experiences were paths to spiritual development. The image of the traveller and classical allusions figure in Osbert of Clare's letters, who called himself a 'stranger and visitor' in his exile, as well as *proscriptus*, a word echoed by John of Salisbury in the use of *proscriptio* to describe his own banishment. Yet both Osbert and John also exhibit metaphorical turns, like that suggested by Johnson in the Norman sources, Osbert likening his exile to biblical examples, while John (of English origin) represents his student life as a type of exile because it involved enforced residence in France, and humankind's entire life on earth as exile from God. And, lest we become too involved in the interpretation of specific wording, Lewis examines a Welsh source concerning Gruffudd ap Cynan (d. 1137) which describes a period of banishment by specific avoidance of exilic vocabulary, relying instead on implicit inferences, demonstrating that the medieval perception of exile was not limited by choice of words.

Exile was not a gender-specific experience, although Miriam Shergold's article on royal women observes that marriage brought about a sort of 'exile' that necessarily affected only women, as it was usual for women, rather than men, to relocate to their spouse's home. However, voluntary exile into religious life was a choice made by both genders. Certainly political banishment could devolve on women as well as men, as in the case of Richildis of Hainaut (d. 1086). The experience of excommunication affected both men and women, particularly in respect to priests and their concubines, when the priests' sins were visited on the women and their children. Johnson has also noted that banishment of a man affects not just the individual, but his entire family.

While the idea of exile conjures visions of coerced banishment, flight often was a voluntary matter of choice. Elisabeth van Houts notes that, after the Battle of Hastings (1066), some English chose to leave their homeland to serve under foreign princes (such as the Byzantine emperor) rather than remain in a conquered land. Lynsey Robertson points out that, in the case of John of Salisbury, his departure appeared to be voluntary as he applied for royal licence to depart. Monastics figure prominently in a number of essays in this volume, and the choice of a cloistered life can be seen as a sort of exile from secular life. Miriam Shergold cites comments of Goscelin of St Bertin (d. after 1107), the Flemish hagiographer active in England, on the exilic situation of nuns, while Briggs notes Osbert of Clare's view that Edburga chose the convent as a place of self-exile. However, Edburga's entry to religious life as an infant draws out the point that monastic life was often begun in childhood, raising the question of whether the choice of vocation was made freely or not. Leonie Hicks cites instances of women who wished to leave convents, claiming never to have taken vows, and of apostate religious who had a change of heart. Apparently, in some cases, the free choice of vocation had been influenced by family and social pressures or by circumstances such as fears for safety in times of military conflict. Laura Napran's paper highlights the mid-twelfth-century case of Laureta of Flanders who, after choosing the exile of flight to escape an unhappy marriage, later opts for the self-banishment of the veil to avoid the punishment of excommunication. Her personal situation, although it involved choice, was limited strictly to the options of different types of exclusion. Ewan Johnson also notes that personal circumstances affected choice in exile. Some persons, after experiencing temporary banishment, might choose to remain in their new home, thus making their banishment a permanent situation. Sometimes a person can be a sort of 'double exile'. Renée Nip argues that Saint Arnulf (d. 1087) was both a voluntary exile, as a religious man and pauper, and a judicial exile enforced by political authority.

Voluntary exile came with certain dangers. Both Ewan Johnson and Lynsey Robertson point out that a voluntary journey from the homeland may not result in a corresponding opportunity to return freely, as in the cases of Robert II of Grandmesnil and John of Salisbury. The apostate religious opting for the pleasures of the secular life were, theologically speaking, leaving the spiritual life for the life of the damned. Staunton's contribution on Archbishops Anselm (1093–1109) and Thomas

Becket highlights the danger of adverse contemporary opinion, when both archbishops were accused of cowardice and of deserting their flocks. When there was not clear evidence of physical danger from violence or pursuit, their flights could be seen as abandonment of duty for personal reasons.

However, the situation of these archbishops leads us to the question of whether exile could be a beneficial experience for those concerned. Supporters of Anselm and Thomas Becket claimed that their self-imposed banishment resulted in inner development and spiritual purification during the period. Anselm is said to have continued to share his people's pain in his spirit, while only his body was absent, suggesting that he also was cleansed by suffering. In retrospect, Thomas Becket's time in France came to be seen as a necessary preparation for his eventual role as martyr and saint. Likewise, Haki Antonsson notes that the period of exile of King Haraldr Bluetooth of Denmark (*c*. 958–86) was an essential step on his road to sanctity and martyrdom as a result of religious revelation. Viewing self-banishment as a case of submission to God, rather than to man, raised the affairs to the realm of religious obedience. The actions of the exiled ecclesiastics could also be beneficial to those in foreign lands, and became a means of spreading the effects of their piety. While the exile of Archbishop Øystein (ON Eysteinn) of Nidaros (1157 [cons. 1161]–88) from Iceland/Norway was enforced rather than voluntary, his situation still illustrates the benefits conferred on his hosts by his active participation in ecclesiastical life in a foreign land (England). Renée Nip's article on the Flemish Saint Arnulf stresses that his status as an outsider in France contributed significantly to his ability to act as a peacemaker both in France and in Flanders. Arnold of Brescia (1100–55), banished from France, found fruitful ground for his opinions on Church reform in Zürich and Rome.

Without question, some bishops or other ecclesiastics feature prominently in the papers in this volume, highlighting the significance of religious exile. Saint Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, appears with considerable frequency in these discussions, representing an almost archetypical figure of ecclesiastical exile. Saint Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, and Øystein of Nidaros, archbishop of Trondheim, also appear in more than one paper. Briggs notes the long tradition of the exiling of bishops within Christianity. This situation raises the issue of the association of banishment with sanctity, and the contrast between exile as a punishment for bad deeds and exile perceived as part of a divine purpose. Certainly, we see its nature as a political punitive measure in the contributions of van Houts, Johnson, Nip, and Lewis. Likewise, its use as a corrective measure in the case of excommunication is shown in those of Hicks and Napran. However, John of Salisbury viewed the Thomas Becket/Henry II conflict not simply as strife between secular and ecclesiastical purposes, but as nothing less than a battle between Good and Evil. This cosmic struggle, played out on earth, is not confined merely to ecclesiastics, as shown by the perception of King Haraldr's exile as a necessary component of his sanctity. The concept of the 'just' exile is further illustrated by the willingness of other ecclesiastics to aid banished churchmen, particularly in the cases of Øystein of Nidaros and Thomas Becket. However, the question of spiritual 'justness' was not always clear-cut among

churchmen, as seen in Schmitz-Esser's evaluation of Bernard of Clairvaux's persistent persecution of another ecclesiastic, Arnold of Brescia. It is apparent that not everyone agreed with Bernard's opinion, as there was reluctance among Church authorities to arrest Arnold in Paris, and Bernard's correspondence with the Bishop of Constance suggests that Arnold was seen by others as a worthy man.

The assistance and warm welcome given to banished ecclesiastics highlights the universal use of exile throughout Europe and its instant recognition by others. Duggan's work draws attention to the fact that economic ties between countries were often an advantageous factor in the reception of banished persons. In the case of the Norman exiles in Italy, the commitment of some of these men to their new land, as evidenced by their choice to remain there, would have strengthened economic and familial ties with the homeland. Shergold notes the ease with which married women, who were sent away from their husbands' lands, managed to reintegrate into their natal kin, emphasizing the continuing bond of familial connections. In the cases of churchmen, the international ties between monastic foundations effectively created a bond which transcended political boundaries. The respect for certain high-profile bishops, such as Thomas Becket and Anselm, assured their good reception by many laymen as well as by ecclesiastics. And, in respect to both lay and ecclesiastical exiles, one person's enemy became another's friend, particularly if they bore particular knowledge or skills, such as the politically experienced Thomas Becket or the Normans who could sell their military skills as mercenaries.

Ultimately, the goal of this collection on exile is not simply to raise new ideas on the subject, but to elicit dialogue and discussion. As there is wide scope for continuing research on all facets of this topic, we can engage in our own metaphoric journey of exile, a pilgrimage through the sources to achieve a better understanding of the exile, the outlaw, and the outsider in medieval life and society. The illustration on the cover of this volume, of the exile of Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury (and his family), brings us back to a reconsideration of the exploration of modern exile by another Archbishop of Canterbury, as cited at the beginning of this introduction.[22] Our attempt to understand 'the Other' in society is a quest which does not cease.

[22] Illustration: 'The Becket Leaves', BL Loan MS 88, fol. 1, on loan from J. Paul Getty, KBE.

Part One
Exile in the Secular World

The Vocabulary of Exile and Outlawry in the North Sea Area around the First Millennium

ELISABETH VAN HOUTS

One of the many manifestations of exile in the Middle Ages is outlawry, a form of banishment with primarily legal connotations. The word outlawry, as is well known, is a Scandinavian loanword deriving from *utlaga*, meaning 'outside the law'. That it entered medieval vocabulary in the run-up to the first millennium in the North Sea area of Western Europe is also well known. The reason why it did so, however, remains relatively unexplored and is in need of reassessment.

The fundamental study and point of departure for any new research remains Liebermann's masterful study on 'Die Friedlosigkeit bei den Angelsachsen' published almost one hundred years ago, in 1910.[1] It was written as a reaction to Frederick Pollock who, arguing backwards from the thirteenth century, devoted a rather meagre section to outlawry. About its origin he wrote: 'Outlawry developed in the Danish period. [. . .] it is thoroughly characteristic of archaic legal systems in general. Nothing is peculiarly English, not much is peculiarly Germanic.'[2] Clearly Liebermann felt this peculiarly unhelpful, and he set out what he thought were its origins and development. Unlike Pollock, he discussed outlawry exclusively in the Germanic tradition, that is to say in its Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian manifestations. Although he pointed out, what Pollock never did, that outlawry was neither a new concept nor a new institution, he discussed it in terms of *Friedlosigkeit*. Literally this means 'loss of peace', which had been hailed by his teacher Brunner as the most fundamental Germanic legal punitive concept. Loss of peace was a state

[1] F. Liebermann, 'Die Friedlosigkeit bei den Angelsachsen', in *Festschrift für Heinrich Brunner zum siebzigsten Geburtstag dargebracht von Schülern und Verehren* (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1910), pp. 17–37.

[2] F. Pollock and F. W. Maitland, *The History of English Law before the Time of Edward I*, 2nd edn, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1898), I, 43.

acquired by a fugitive from justice, for at the moment he took flight he would lose the protection of his kin and community. It normally followed the most serious crimes, called unemendable crimes, that is, crimes that could not be bought off by fines. Neither the type of crime nor the legal procedure changed the 'loss of peace'. Despite the fact that Liebermann recognized the Scandinavian etymology of the word *utlaga* and that it was a new label put on the existing punitive measure of banishment, he described outlawry increasingly as a Scandinavian legal custom adapted to Anglo-Saxon circumstances. Liebermann's work remained unchallenged until 1937 when Julius Goebel published his *Felony and Misdemeanor: A Study in the History of English Criminal Procedure*.[3] As the title already suggests, Goebel was particularly interested in the procedural aspects of keeping law and order. It comes therefore as no surprise that he rejected Liebermann's work in one of the longest footnotes in legal historiography — it covers two densely printed pages.[4] He argued that instances of outlawry needed careful distinction in terms of context and vocabulary indicating a flight, imposing a death sentence, loss of royal favour or some sort of process or judicial sentence. Rearranging Liebermann's evidence, he proposed to distinguish three different manifestations of outlawry: 1) the process upon flight, 2) exile as punishment, and 3) loss of the king's grace. He concluded that Anglo-Saxon outlawry was not that different from what was common in Normandy and that for that reason after 1066 the Normans mostly accepted the English procedure. But where Goebel made the most significant advance, compared with Pollock and Liebermann, was his recognition of similarities between, on the one hand, the Merovingian and Carolingian legal tradition and, on the other hand, the Anglo-Saxon one. His emphasis on legal procedure derived from his observations that the Frankish systems had been heavily influenced by Roman procedure. What he did not consider, however, was the Scandinavian aspect of the outlawry problem. And this is the question that I consider fundamental for a historical understanding of the relatively sudden appearance of the Scandinavian loan words *laga* (law) and *utlaga* (outlawry), and their variants, in England and, I suggest, in Normandy in the last quarter of the tenth century. In the following sections an attempt will be made to set this phenomenon in the context of the North Sea area around the first millennium and to suggest that an answer might be found in the interaction of groups of Scandinavian mercenaries with the rulers of England and Normandy.

Pollock and Liebermann agreed on the Scandinavian etymology of the word 'outlawry'. Pollock dated its origin, as we have seen, vaguely to 'the Danish period', whereas Liebermann dated it from shortly after 922.[5] Goebel and others after him

[3] J. Goebel, Jr, *Felony and Misdemeanor: A Study in the History of English Criminal Procedure, Vol. 1* (New York: Columbia University School of Law, 1937).

[4] Goebel, *Felony and Misdemeanor*, pp. 57–58 n. 132.

[5] Liebermann, 'Friedlosigkeit', p. 18.

have long based their discussions on the emergence of the Scandinavian loanwords to the Danish period that started in the early tenth century. The early date derives from the understandable assumption that the first occurrence of the word *utlah* appeared in the so-called 'Treaty of Edward and Guthrum', c. 6, 6, which was dated towards the end of King Edward's reign (899–924).[6] However, Dorothy Whitelock's discovery in 1941 of this text as a 'forgery' of Archbishop Wulfstan II of York (1002–23) has been well recognized in Anglo-Saxon legal circles, but as yet has not been explicitly applied to the discussion surrounding the Scandinavian loan vocabulary of outlawry.[7] A chronological inventory of the occurrences of *laga*, the Scandinavian loanword for 'law', and its cognates *utlah*/*utlagu*/*utlaga* would show that the word entered the written language in *c*. 970 and that it rapidly rose to a peak during the 990s and early eleventh century, after which it became the dominating vocabulary for outlawry though never entirely replacing the indigenous vocabulary of *fliema* (fugitive) or *adrifen* (banning). Until the middle of the tenth century the vernacular word for exile, fugitive, or outlaw was *flyma* or its variant; these are instances that are generally considered to be outlaw cases *avant la lettre*: Alfred's law book, commonly dated to the 880s, uses the word *afliemed*, while the first case of an outlaw (*flyman*) is Helmstan in an early tenth-century document dated to between 900 and 924.[8] The document is known from a tenth-century copy describing him as a *flyman*. Later copies too kept this word.

Lagu, the Scandinavian loanword for 'law', was first used in IV Edgar, the so-called 'Wihtbordestan' collection, issued *c*. 970 by King Edgar (957/59–75) to regulate the relationship between the English and the Danes in the Danelaw.[9] Its significance lies, as has been pointed out by many, in the fact that *laga* is used in reference to the Danes. Clearly therefore *laga* as the word to denote the customs by which the

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[6] *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. by F. Liebermann, 3 vols (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1903–16), I (1903), 128–35 (pp. 132–33 where some manuscripts add *vel exlex*), and *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church*, vol I, *A.D. 871–1204*, part 1, *871–1066*, ed. by D. Whitelock, M. Brett and C. N. L. Brooke, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), I, no. 47, pp. 302–12 (p. 309).

[7] D. Whitelock, 'Wulfstan and the So-called Laws of Edward and Guthrum', *EHR*, 56 (1941), 1–21, and P. Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century*, vol. I, *Legislation and its Limits* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), pp. 389–91.

[8] Af. 1, 7: *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 15–89 (pp. 48–49), and *EHD* I, no. 33, p. 374; *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography*, ed. by P. Sawyer (London: Royal Historical Society, 1968), no. 1445; *A Hand-Book to Land-charters and Other Saxonic Documents*, ed. by J. Earle (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1888), pp. 162–65; cf. P. Wormald, 'A Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Lawsuits', in his *Legal Culture in the Medieval West: Law as Text, Image and Experience* (London: Hambledon Press, 1999), pp. 253–87 (p. 266, no. 25).

[9] IV Edgar 2a1 and 12 in *The Laws of the Kings of England from Edmund to Henry I*, ed. and trans. by A. J. Robertson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1925), pp. 28–39 (pp. 32–33 (*lagum*) and pp. 36–37 (*laga*)); cf. Wormald, *The Making*, I, 317–20, esp. p. 319.

Danes lived was known by the Danes and the English. *Laga* also crops up in legislation, known as the Wantage lawbook, issued in 997 by King Aethelred (978–1016) for the Five Boroughs and the Danelaw.[10] Thus the two codes containing the earliest instances of the word *laga* in legal compilations were mostly concerned with the Danish inhabitants of England.

The word *utlah* for outlaw and *utlaga* for outlawry date from a slightly earlier time (they could be as early as 966) and originate in two records of writing from Peterborough, the town situated in the heart of Danelaw territory.[11] A third record dealing with an exchange of lands, one estate of which went to Peterborough abbey, dates from between 971 and 975. The son of a widow accused of witchcraft fled and became an outlaw (*utlah*).[12] However, all three cases immediately raise one unsurpassable methodological problem, namely that their earliest surviving manuscript evidence is late and dates from mid-twelfth-century Peterborough. We cannot be certain, therefore, as to whether the Peterborough scribes faithfully copied what they found in their Old English exemplar, or whether they used *utlah* because it was the common word to use in their own time. That scribes altered technical words and used their preferred contemporary vocabulary is already clear from a case dating to King Aethelred's time in 997. In Aethelred's first law book, where Aethelstan's law is copied, the word *utlah* is used instead of the original *fliema*, that is if we can accept the twelfth-century copies, which are the only evidence for Aethelred's early legislation, at face value.[13] In fact, we see this process all through the written sources right up to the post-conquest period. *Fliema* and its variants are used almost indiscriminately with *utlah* and its derivatives. One early twelfth-century Anglo-Norman translator of the *Instituti Cnuti* glossed the Old English *flema* (fugitive) of II Cnut 13,2 as *exulem quem Angli uocant utlaga* ('exile which the English call outlawry').[14]

Yet, there is no doubt that the first concentration of the *utlah* vocabulary, in writing, comes from King Aethelred's reign and that the concentration is most pronounced, as we have seen, in secular legal texts that have some preoccupation with the cohabitation of English and Danes in England. To the same context belongs King

[10] III Atr. rubric in *The Laws of the Kings*, ed. and trans. by Robertson, pp. 64–65.

[11] Wormald, 'Handlist', p. 267, nos 50 and 51.

[12] Wormald, 'Handlist', p. 267, no. 43, can be found in print in *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. by A. J. Robertson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1939), no. 37 and p. 68. For a translation, see *EHD* I, no. 112. The dating comes from Susan Kelly's revised edition of *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography*, ed. by P. Sawyer (unpublished revision Cambridge, 1994), no. 1377.

[13] I Atr. 1, 9a (*The Laws of the Kings*, ed. and trans. by Robertson, pp. 54–55) with II As. 2, 1/8 (*Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 150–67 (pp. 152–53); *EHD* I, no. 35, p. 382); for a comparison between the texts, see Wormald, *The Making*, I, 320–24.

[14] *The Laws of the Kings*, ed. and trans. by Robertson, pp. 180–81; *Gesetze*, ed. by Liebermann, I, 316–17; and Liebermann, 'Friedlosigkeit', p. 18.

Aethelred's treaty with Olaf Tryggvason and his associates dated to 994. Here too we find the *utlah* vocabulary in an Anglo-Scandinavian context.[15] It would be a mistake to conclude, however, that in all texts concerning Anglo-Scandinavian relations references to 'fugitives' or 'outlawry' are expressed exclusively in Scandinavian loan words. For example, Aethelred's Wantage code of 997, the text that contains more Scandinavian legal vocabulary than any, as has been expertly discussed by Charlotte Neff, in III Aethelred 10, uses *flyma* where one might have expected *utlah*.[16]

Moreover, other texts besides legal ones betray an increased use of the word in writing. The homilist Aelfric uses *utlah* frequently in his homilies, but also in his grammar composed in *c*. 998, where a contemporary gloss gives *exlex*.[17] The first use in historical narrative comes from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* where manuscripts C, D, and E show it under the year 1014, significantly again in the specific context of relations with the Danes.[18] From then on throughout the eleventh century and well into the twelfth century, the *utlah* vocabulary occurs regularly as a synonym for the indigenous terminology and occasionally predominates.[19] Unlike the period around the millennium it does not predominantly occur in Danish contexts. The late eleventh- and early twelfth-century historians and lawyers use Old English and Scandinavian loan words indiscriminately, it seems. It must be pointed out, however, that amongst the historians John of Worcester is the only one who uses the verb *elegere* for *utlagu* and *exlex* for *utlah* in his Latin rendition of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.[20] Others, like Henry of Huntingdon, William of Malmesbury, or in Normandy Orderic Vitalis, prefer a more classical Latin (*exulare* or *exul*) and do not strive to translate 'literally'.

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[15] II Atr. 1,2 (*utlah*) and II Atr. 7,1 (*utlage*) (*The Laws of the Kings*, ed. and trans. by Robertson, pp. 56–57 and 60–61). Compare Wormald, *The Making*, I, 321.

[16] III Atr. 10: *aelc flyma beo flyma on aelcum lande the on ánum sy* ('everyone who is an outlaw/fugitive in one district shall be an outlaw/fugitive everywhere', *The Laws of the Kings*, ed. and trans. by Robertson, pp. 68–69). C. Neff, 'Scandinavian Elements in the Wantage Code of Aethelred II', *The Journal of Legal History*, 10 (1989), 285–313.

[17] *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Based on the Manuscript Collections of the Late Joseph Bosworth*, ed. by T. Northcote Toller (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898), p. 1146, where also other examples can be found.

[18] *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel with Supplementary Extracts from the Others: A Revised Text*, ed. by C. Plummer and J. Earle, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1892–99), I (1892), 145 (E: *utlagede*) and n. 4 (CD: *utlah*).

[19] Between 1017 and 1097 the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* manuscripts contain (with variants) the words *utlah* eight times, *fliema* twice, and *adrifen* six times.

[20] *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, ed. by R. R. Darlington and P. McGurk, trans. by J. Bray and P. McGurk (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), II, 502 (1017: *exlegauit*), 506 (1020: *exlegauit*), 576 (1042x65: *exlegauit*), 574 (*c*. 1051: *exlegauerunt*), 592 (*c*. 1042x65: *exlegantes*), 598 (1065: *exlegeuerunt*).

What can we conclude from this evidence? It seems to me beyond doubt that the introduction of the *laga/utlaga* terminology was in some ways connected with the regulations of the cohabitation of English and Danes in England. The semantic evidence, however, does not support the notion, implied by Liebermann, that it reflects the introduction of a new institution or even a new concept. The seeming interchangeability of the words *flyma* and *utlah* suggests that Danes and English people used both as synonyms for banishment and outlawing people as punitive measures. It is, therefore, not a case of one people, the Danes, imposing a new set of rules called *utlaga* on another people, the English. Having banished the notion of the Scandinavian origin of outlawry to the land of myths, how do we explain why the Scandinavian loanword gained prevalence over the indigenous terminology?

An answer may be found in one of Patrick Wormald's recent suggestions. Faced with the Scandinavian contents of IV Edgar, the Wihtbordestan code, III Aethelred, the Wantage code, and Wulfstan's 'Edward and Guthrum' treaty, Wormald suggests that these legal texts were addressing local situations in areas heavily populated by Danes, and they were not meant for 'national' consumption.[21] Therefore, he suggests, the laws incorporated Danish customs as much as they incorporated English customs. The laws did not replace one set of rules by another, but the codes fused two sets of customs that were in use regionally. This would explain the simultaneous use of the Old English *flyma* and the Danish *laga* in the Wantage code. So far, so good. If, however, we think this through more carefully we are faced with a problem, especially where banishment is concerned. By equating vocabulary with customs, Wormald implies — but we must note that he never says so explicitly — that the Scandinavian loanwords indicate customs or institutions alien to the English ones. A further implication presents itself, for the only way in which the Scandinavian loanwords, representing Scandinavian customs, could have become the dominant form in England would be as a result of either amalgamation of two sets of customs of which the Scandinavian custom dominates (as the survival of the words would be suggesting), or as a result of the imposition of one set of (Scandinavian) customs over another set of (English) customs. I doubt that the implications along the line sketched here represent in any way what happened historically. The Danes, like the English, and like most other people in Europe, knew, as we shall see below, banishment as a punishment. It is difficult to believe that one form of banishment would in practice be very different from another form of banishment. There may have been differences in procedure, but we do not know that for sure. Let me suggest another way out of this problem.

The period around the first millennium saw an increase in roaming Viking groups in the North Sea area. Not only the English, but also the Normans were increasingly concerned with the influx, temporarily or permanently, of marauding Scandinavians. Many were for rent as mercenaries. Scandinavian mercenaries, as Simon Keynes has

[21] Wormald, *The Making*, I, 328–29.

pointed out, were first engaged in England in any numbers in 994. They proved unreliable fellows and easily changed sides.[22] When loyal they received moveables and land; when disloyal they were banned. In a time of heightened tension between old inhabitants and their descendants and newcomers and their offspring when land was under attack and alliances continuously changed, banishment would have been a probably unsuccessful but recurring attempt (failing the St Brice's Day murders in 1002) to punish disloyalty, disobedience, and desertion. And, I would suggest, might it not have been likely that those who were hit by banishment were mostly the Scandinavian mercenaries? And might they have come to be known under their Scandinavian label of *utlah*? And could not the frequency of such labelling have led to the label *utlah* being stuck to the pundits and the label *utlaga* to the measure of banishment? If such a tentative scenario can be accepted, it might explain that such measures were recorded in English legal texts issued in Wessex (Woodstock, Wantage), plagued by mercenaries away from the Danelaw, but clearly, as we have seen, destined to be put into practice there to discourage the long established Danes in that area from imitating the newcomers. If such an explanation would hold for the English North Sea area, we might explore if it could equally be applied to Normandy, where the rise of an equivalent vocabulary in the same period might lead to a similar explanation.

There has been discussion on the origin of early Norman exile and outlawry vocabulary similar to that for Anglo-Saxon England. The vernacular word for exile or outlawry is *ullac*, which is a clear variant of the Scandinavian word *utlah*. It occurs only once in a charter of William the Conqueror from 1050, which has survived only in an early thirteenth-century cartulary.[23] Thereafter, it occurs sporadically in legal literature and is incorporated in the late twelfth-century Norman legal compilation the *Très Ancien Coutumier de Normandie*. *Ullac* was not the only Scandinavian loanword. The 1050 charter also contains the word *hamfara*, while two Cotentin documents of 1063/66 and 1056/66 contain the Scandinavian vocabulary of *vareck*

[22] S. Keynes, 'The Vikings in England, *c*. 790–1016', in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Vikings*, ed. by P. Sawyer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 48–82 (pp. 77–78). For the interesting suggestion that Edgar had already invited many foreigners including Danes, see now S. Jayakumar, 'Some Reflections on the "Foreign Policies" of Edgar "the Peaceable"', *Haskins Society Journal*, 10 (2001), 17–37.

[23] *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie de 911 à 1066*, ed. by M. Fauroux, Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie, 36 (Caen: Caron, 1961), no. 121, p. 286: 'Eodem anno quo in conjugium sortitus est Normannorum marchio Willelmus nomine Balduinus [*sic*] comitis filiam dedit Sancto Petro Pratelli consuetudines quas habebat in quadam terra que Wascolium uulgo uocatur, scilicet hainfaram, ullac, rat, incendium, bernagium, bellum. Pro quibus abbas ejusdem loci Anffridus nomine ei dignam dedit pecuniam ide est .X. libras denariorum et orationes loci Pratelli.'

(right of wreckage).[24] There is agreement amongst scholars as to the Scandinavian etymology for the word *ullac*, but they are divided about the date by which it became known in Normandy. An early introduction in *c*. 910 by Rollo, the first Viking leader of Rouen, has been suggested on the grounds that Dudo of St-Quentin, writing around 996–1015, says that he implemented new laws.[25] One could object to this suggestion by pointing out that Rollo might have had little leeway in imposing new laws on the Franks, particularly if we see him as a temporary caretaker-count of the Carolingian king Charles the Simple in Rouen. A more attractive proposition concerns the suggestion of a late tenth-century introduction, possibly via immigrants from the Danelaw in England.[26] Instead of thinking in terms of laws being imposed by Rollo, one could argue the case of intensification of use of the Frankish practice of exile and outlawry by the Norman ruler, specifically targeted at Danish immigrants who at times were troublesome.[27] A Danish context may have led to the use of the Scandinavian loan word. As in England, the cohabitation of Franks and Danish newcomers may have led to disturbances calling for punitive measures that were known to both peoples but that became increasingly known under the Danish name. The Norman evidence for such a process, if it can be identified as such, left much less trace than in England. Exile and banishment are known from Carolingian France, and from Neustria in particular, and they survived under the Norman dukes.[28] The Scandinavian legal terminology for Normandy, far less abundant than the English anyway, certainly does not support the notion of a Scandinavian origin for outlawry or exile as a new institution. Instead, I would like to argue that around the first millennium in England and Normandy a relatively new (Scandinavian) vocabulary is

[24] *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie*, ed. by Fauroux, no. 224 (for Notre Dame de Cherbourg) (p. 431 last line *werec*); no. 214 (for Notre Dame de Coutances) (p. 406 *ejectivi quod in ilis finibus dicitur verefc*).

[25] J. Yver, 'Les Premières Institutions du duché de Normandie', in *I Normanni e la loro espansione in Europa nell'alto medioevo 18–24 aprile 1968*, Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 16 (Spoleto: Presso la sede del Centro Italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1969), pp. 299–366 (pp. 316–23), where he does not mention *ullac* but concentrates what may have constituted Rollo's legislation. *God's Peace and King's Peace: The Laws of Edward the Confessor*, ed. by B. R. O'Brien (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1999), pp. 20, 22.

[26] L. Musset, 'Autour des modalités juridiques de l'expansion normande au XI^e^ siècle: Le Droit d'exil', in *Autour du pouvoir ducal Normand X^e^–XII^e^ siècles*, ed. by L. Musset, J.-M. Bouvris, and J.-M. Maillefer, Cahiers des Annales de Normandie, 17 (Caen: Centre d'Etudes normandes de l'Université de Caen, 1985), pp. 45–59 (pp. 56–59).

[27] The treaty of 991 between King Aethelred and Duke Richard I regulated the sheltering by both rulers of each other's (Viking) enemies. Referring to events in the year 1003 (or 1013), William of Jumièges refers to Danes finding shelter in Norman harbours (*GND*, II, 18–19).

[28] Musset, 'Autour des modalités', pp. 53–55, and Goebel, *Felony and Misdemeanor*, pp. 80–122.

increasingly being used because of specific problems relating to groups of Scandinavian mercenaries who might have been settlers or newcomers wishing to settle, but who caused problems by changing allegiance in both countries. They were regularly sent away or banned, probably by using processes that were well established in both countries. The process of banishment, as we have seen, was well known on either side of the Channel, and as a temporary measure in particular it was an ideal way to get rid of troublemakers. Since the troublemakers were Scandinavians, the vocabulary to ban them was Scandinavian, and as a result a banned man became known as *utlah* and the custom by which he was banned became known as *utlaga*.

The third geographical area we need to consider in our exploration of the vocabulary for exile and outlawry is Scandinavia, and Iceland in particular. Iceland was colonized by Norse immigrants, some of whom were exiles from Norway.[29] They established themselves in their new country, unusually without a king. Their guides were the laws devised and implemented in a series of meetings in the 920s, 960s, and late 990s before the decision was taken to put the laws into writing in 1116/17.[30] None of this material has survived in contemporary manuscripts, and only late thirteenth-century material, collectively known under the name *Grágás*, is available.[31] Although most historians would agree that some of the Icelandic legal customs are very old and presumably go back to the tenth century, we cannot be sure which ones they are. Moreover, this precarious tradition also makes it very difficult to decide what measures were directly borrowed from Norse law and what was innovation or adaptation to Icelandic circumstances. Norwegian law as well as Swedish and Danish lawcodes all post-date the Icelandic material. The latter therefore provides us with a snapshot of legislation that is the nearest approximation to legal conditions in Scandinavia *c*. 1000. Finally, the Icelandic *Grágás* constitute the most detailed regulations on exile and outlawry from anywhere in medieval Europe.[32]

The first thing that strikes the historian interested in the Scandinavian vocabulary of exile and outlawry is that Iceland has two completely different terms for outlaws.

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[29] J. Byock, *Viking Age Iceland* (London: Penguin, 2001), pp. 5–24.

[30] Byock, *Viking Age Iceland*, pp. 170–84, 308–15.

[31] *Laws of Early Iceland: Grágás. The Codex Regius of Grágás with Material from Other Manuscripts*, trans. by A. Dennis, P. Foote, and R. Perkins, University of Manitoba Icelandic Studies, 3 (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1980).

[32] *Grágás*, I, 7–8; Byock, *Viking Age Iceland*, pp. 231–32, and J. Byock, 'Outlawry', in *Medieval Scandinavia: An Encyclopedia*, ed. by P. Pulsiano (New York: Garland, 1993), pp. 460–61. For more extensive studies, see A. Breisch, *Frid och fredlöshet: Sociala band och utanförskap på Island under äldere medeltid*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia historica Upsaliensia, 174 (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 1994), pp. 133–42; English summary, pp. 166–73, esp. pp. 170–72. For an anthropological analysis, see K. Hastrup, *Culture and History in Medieval Iceland: An Anthropological Analysis of Structure and Change* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), pp. 136–45.

The law distinguished lesser outlawry, called *fjörbaugsarðr*, from the full outlawry, called *skóggangr* (literally 'forest going'). The word *utlah* was known but with a quite different meaning of 'fine' or 'liable to pay a fine'. It only occurs twice in the *Grágás* and always in specific reference to Norse law.[33] This has led scholars to believe that *utlah* may have been used originally in its meaning of fugitive or outlaw, but that it was overtaken by two words that reflected the specific Icelandic circumstances better. The concept and institution of exile and outlawry is again very similar to that in the rest of Europe, but we know about its procedures in much greater detail. Cases of lesser outlawry outnumbered the cases of full outlawry and this is certainly the picture we get from elsewhere. Lesser outlawry forced the outlaw (*fjörbaugsmaðr*) to leave the country and stay away for three years after which his goods were restored to him and he could continue living as if nothing had happened. While he was away his dependants, and in particular his wife and children, were looked after with some of the income from his possessions set aside for this purpose. The full outlaw (*skógarmaðr*) was outlawed for life, lost his legal status and persona, and was doomed to live a life as if a wild animal in the forest. His goods and lands were forfeited, and he was not allowed any contact with others. Punishment of support for a full outlaw in turn consisted of full outlawry.

The significance of the Icelandic evidence for the purpose of this essay lies in the fact of the negative evidence it provides for the Scandinavian loanwords in use in England and Normandy. It seems highly unlikely to me that the development of Icelandic outlawry vocabulary had any linguistic link with those in England and Normandy. What link there is consists of hints that lesser outlawry lasted three years, a period that seems to have been recognized as the standard period within which reconciliation with the ruler was likely and normally expected. The evidence from eleventh-century Normandy is striking in this respect, for Orderic Vitalis gives various cases of eleventh-century Norman exiles being away for precisely that number of years.[34] For England, the evidence is less clear-cut, though a few cases of reconciliation within a period of three years are certainly known (see below). For both countries, however, the evidence for full outlawry (as defined by Icelandic law) is very difficult to establish due to the historical circumstances. For Normandy full outlawry has been identified as being intimately linked with the emigration of Norman outlaws to Italy.[35] One might argue, however, that the attractions of Italy

[33] Hastrup, *Culture and History*, pp. 139–40.

[34] Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, II, 90–91, 106–07, 124–25 (Arnold d'Echauffour), 120–21 (Robert de Vitot), VI, 46–49 (Hubert de St-Suzanne), 332–35 (William de Roumare); and my 'L'exil dans l'espace Anglo-Normand', in *La Normandie et l'Angleterre au Moyen Age, 4–7 Octobre 2001 Colloque Cerisy-la-Salle*, ed. by V. Gazeau (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 75–85 (pp. 78–79).

[35] For further discussion of Norman outlaws and emigration to Italy, see Ewan Johnson's essay in this volume.

(availability of land, mercenary opportunities, and moveable wealth) formed a stronger attraction for Normans to stay than to return to the home country and seek reconciliation with the duke. In England the political upheavals under two sets of foreign kings (Danish between 1014/16 and 1042, and Norman from 1066) created unique circumstances under which outlaws, who normally might have attempted to seek reconciliation, might have decided for their own sake to stay away, particularly if their lands had been confiscated. For Englishmen after 1066 it was difficult enough to hold on to their lands; for outlaws it must have been even more difficult. Domesday Book offers interesting, if often incomplete, information in this respect. It also offers unambiguous evidence that by 1086 the Scandinavian loanword for outlawry had overtaken the use of the indigenous vocabulary or its Latin literal translation.

Domesday Book, compiled in 1086, provides more promising material.[36] Domesday Book is the single most useful source for the history of English exiles in the reigns of Edward the Confessor (1042–66), Harold (1066), and William the Conqueror (1066–87). As for the pre-conquest period, most of the references concern named men who had to flee the country, forfeited their lands, and left their home. Few of the entries hint at reasons. In the case of Hereward the Wake, the most famous exile, Domesday Book twice explicitly mentions his departure, without however using any of the common outlawry vocabulary. Earl Godwine and Harold are mentioned in connection with their outlawry in the early 1050s.[37] Godwine's son Tostig is not mentioned in this connection, but his own exile in 1065 is alluded to by the words that 'he left [the country]'.[38] Several other named men are Spirites, the canon at Bromfield;[39] Eadric of Laxfield, who was outlawed but then reconciled with King Edward;[40] Eadric the steersman of St Benet's Holme, who is mentioned twice as outlaw;[41] and several anonymous outlaws whose forfeited lands were given to others, for example

[36] *DB*, ed. by Farley; *Domesday Book: A Complete Translation*, Alecto Historical Edition, ed. by A. Williams and G. H. Martin (London: Penguin, 2002) gives the folio numbers. I will also include references to R. Fleming, *Domesday Book and the Law: Society and Legal Custom in Early Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

[37] *DB*, ed. by Farley, I, fol. 186^{r}; Fleming, *Domesday Book*, no. 746 (*erant exulati*).

[38] *DB*, ed. by Farley, II, fol. 200^{v}; Fleming, *Domesday Book*, no. 2430 (*exiit*); cf. also *DB*, ed. by Farley, I, fol. 133^{r}; Fleming, *Domesday Book*, no. 770; *DB*, ed. by Farley, I, fol. 217^{v}; Fleming, *Domesday Book*, nos 54 and 56.

[39] *DB*, ed. by Farley, I, fol. 252^{v}; Fleming, *Domesday Book*, no. 1319 (*fuisset exulatus*); Wormald, 'Handlist', p. 270, no. 97.

[40] *DB*, ed. by Farley, II, fols 310^{v}–311^{r}; Fleming, *Domesday Book*, no. 2834 (*udlagauit*); Wormald, 'Handlist', p. 270, no. 101.

[41] *DB*, ed. by Farley, II, fols 312^{v}–313^{r}; Fleming, *Domesday Book*, no. 2839 (*utlagisset*); *DB*, ed. by Farley, II, fols 310^{v}–311^{r}; Fleming, *Domesday Book*, no. 2834 (*rediret*).

at Thurne,[42] at Brackwell Quay,[43] and at Mundon.[44] The cities of Chester, Shrewsbury, and Lincoln and Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire all refer to outlawry as a punishment that could be proclaimed by king and sheriff, but all add that only the king can offer reconciliation and inlaw the culprit.[45] This is presumably the meaning of II Cnut 13 where it is said that the king alone has power to grant the outlaw security.[46] York is exceptional in that it repeats the royal pardon but then adds that earl or sheriff can recall any outlaw they have expelled and offer him peace.[47] Perhaps there is a remnant here of an older (Scandinavian) practice? York after all is far removed from the centre of Wessex royal authority, and relying exclusively on a royal pardon for penitential outlaws would not be practical. Thus before 1200 initially outlawry was proclaimed at local level only, namely by the hundred or the shire court, in which case the appropriate officers were the sheriff as well as the earls.[48] The king could also outlaw his enemies, and there is some discussion as to whether he could do so of his own volition or only in conjunction with his court as part of a formal process.[49] There is also ambiguous evidence for others. Domesday Book contains at least one case where a certain Aethelwig [of Thetford] is said to have outlawed a freeman whose land at Thurne ended up in the hands of Roger Bigot.[50] In what capacity Aethelwig did so is unknown. As for the permanency of the banishment, the cases of the Godwines in 1051/52 and Eadric of Laxfield at an unknown time illustrate that relatively quick (within three years) reconciliation with the king was possible.

For the post-conquest period the most famous case of outlawry concerns the fate of the earls after the earls' revolt in 1075 when Ralph de Gael, earl of East Anglia,

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[42] *DB*, ed. by Farley, II, fol. 277^{v}; Fleming, *Domesday Book*, no. 2721 (*fuit exlex*, *fecit illegem*).

[43] *DB*, ed. by Farley, II, fol. 24^{r}; Fleming, *Domesday Book*, no. 1861 (*udlagauit*).

[44] *DB*, ed. by Farley, II, fol. 49^{v}; Fleming, *Domesday Book*, no. 1930 (*utllagauit*).

[45] *DB*, ed. by Farley, I, fol. 262^{v}; Fleming, *Domesday Book*, no. 253 (Chester: *utlah*); *DB*, ed. by Farley, I, fol. 252^{r}; Fleming, *Domesday Book*, no. 1307 (Shrewsbury: *utlagus*); *DB*, ed. by Farley, I, fol. 336^{v}; Fleming, *Domesday Book*, no. 981 (Lincoln: *exulatus*); *DB*, ed. by Farley, I, fol. 280^{v}; Fleming, *Domesday Book*, no. 1244 (Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire: *exulatus*). The customs of Worcester say that the king has all the forfeitures, including those of outlawry, except in the lands held by Westminster Abbey which King Edward had given them (*DB*, ed. by Farley, I, fol. 172^{r}; Fleming, *Domesday Book*, no. 1640 *utlaghe*).

[46] *The Laws of the Kings*, ed. and trans. by Robertson, pp. 180–81.

[47] *DB*, ed. by Farley, I, fol. 298^{v}; Fleming, *Domesday Book*, no. 1703 (*exulatus*).

[48] Fleming, *Domesday Book*, pp. 44–45.

[49] Wormald, 'A Handlist', p. 259.

[50] *DB*, ed. by Farley, II, fol. 277^{v}; Fleming, *Domesday Book*, no. 2721 (*fuit exlex*, *fecit illegem*).

and Roger of Breteuil, son of William FitzOsbern, rebelled against King William.[51] Earl Waltheof, an indigenous nobleman, was implicated as well. He was captured and after one year imprisonment executed for treason. Roger was also captured, but spared, even though he spent the rest of his life in a Norman prison. Ralph was sent into exile and returned to his Breton lands; he later went on crusade. Amongst Earl Ralph's followers the only likely suspect also to have been outlawed is Walter of Dol, whose lands were forfeited.[52] The fate of the lands of Earl Ralph and Walter of Dol can be followed in the pages of Domesday Book for Norfolk in particular. Lesser known exiles were the anonymous English fighters who left after the defeat at Hastings and presumably chose voluntary exile. Some of them ended up as body-guards of the Byzantine emperor.[53] Other post-conquest outlaws are mentioned in Domesday Book very much in the same way as the casual references to their pre-conquest contemporaries. Not surprisingly, many Englishmen were outlawed by the new king after 1066, presumably on the grounds that they had broken the king's peace. In effect, any act of subversiveness may have been interpreted as such. The circumstances must have inspired many an Englishman to continue to fight, offer resistance, or otherwise sabotage the newcomers. Skalpi, housecarl of Harold, initially held his land but forfeited it when he went to York, where he died in outlawry. With Ann Williams we may hazard a guess that Skalpi had joined the English resistance against the Conqueror in the years 1068/69 and was outlawed perhaps as a result of his active participation.[54] Other references to English outlaws come mainly from East Anglia, the North of England, and the Welsh march, fringe areas where local resistance to the Conqueror was strongest. Wulfweard based near Gloucester was made an outlaw and his land went to one of the Conqueror's cooks;[55] Vighlah lost his lands and left the country, a very probable sign of exile from the South Riding of Yorkshire as a result of participation in anti-Norman fighting;[56] and Tonni,

[51] Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, II, 310–23; *English Lawsuits from William I to Richard I*, ed. and trans. by R. C. van Caenegem, Publications of the Selden Society (London: Selden Society, 1990–91), I (1990), 16–22. Fleming's index, *Domesday Book*, p. 450, under Earl Ralph Wader, lists all lands he lost.

[52] Fleming, *Domesday Book*, nos 2809, 2850–51, 2962, 3053; A. Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1995), p. 63.

[53] J. Godfrey, 'The Defeated Anglo-Saxons Take Service with the Eastern Emperor', *ANS*, 1 (1987), 63–74.

[54] *DB*, ed. by Farley, II, fol. 59^{r}; Fleming, *Domesday Book*, no. 1951 (*in utlagaria*); Williams, *The English*, pp. 34–35.

[55] *DB*, ed. by Farley, I, fol. 162^{v}; Fleming, *Domesday Book*, no. 512 (*utlag factus est*).

[56] *DB*, ed. by Farley, I, fols 375^{r} and 375^{v}; Fleming, *Domesday Book*, nos 1049 (*terram exiuit*) and 1071 (a case of forfeiture).

too, may have lost his lands for similar reasons.[57] Godwine was outlawed in Norfolk and so was Eadric, the captain of St Benet Holme's ship, who fled to Denmark.[58] Beorhtsige was outlawed in Essex.[59] Azur was outlawed in the Pershore Abbey area.[60] Amongst the English outlaws is Abbot Aethelsige of St Augustine who spent some time in Denmark, perhaps on account of his involvement as interim administrator of Ramsey Abbey.[61] His outlawry is confirmed by a Canterbury charter of 1077 which refers to him as the Conqueror's fugitive.[62] The case of Rainer the Deacon in the North Riding serves as a warning that not everyone listed in Domesday Book as leaving the country did so as a result of outlawry. Although Fleming includes him in her list of outlaws, it is more likely that, based in enemy territory, Rainer preferred to leave the country and lose his lands rather than stay and presumably be faced with hostile Englishmen.[63] At most this might be a case of unauthorized departure, that is, the abandonment of estates without the lord's permission, which was normally punished with forfeiture, but not with outlawry. The effect, however, of voluntary departure and outlawry, in the form of loss of lands, may have been the same.

The ethnic mix of the population in England before and after the conquest led to some specific outlawry rules established to punish acts of guerrilla warfare and terrorism. Long before the conquest, King Aethelred had issued legislation that, in case of multiple murder by a Viking (Dane), the murderer(s) shall be treated as outlaws by their own people and by the English.[64] The ethnic differentiation applied to the Danelaw as well as to the rest of England.[65] This law was maintained by the Danish kings and the Norman kings. At some stage, probably relatively early in his reign in England, William the Conqueror legislated on exculpation and treated, interestingly,

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[57] *DB*, ed. by Farley, I, fol. 375^{r}; Fleming, *Domesday Book*, no. 1050 (no mention of outlawry, only capture and desertion).

[58] *DB*, ed. by Farley, II, fols 273^{v}–274^{r}; Fleming, *Domesday Book*, no. 2649 (Godwine: *utlagauit*); *DB*, ed. by Farley, II, fol. 200^{r}; Fleming, *Domesday Book*, no. 2428 (Eadric: *exlex*).

[59] *DB*, ed. by Farley, II, fol. 48^{r}; Fleming, *Domesday Book*, no. 1927 (*utlagauit*).

[60] *DB*, ed. by Farley, I, fol. 64^{v}, fol. 175^{r}; Fleming, *Domesday Book*, no. 1666 (*factus est utlagh*).

[61] *DB*, ed. by Farley, I, fol. 208^{r}; Fleming, *Domesday Book*, no. 851; Williams, *The English*, p. 35.

[62] *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum: The Acta of William I (1066–1087)*, ed. by D. Bates (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), no. 83.

[63] *DB*, ed. by Farley, I, fols 375^{v}, 375^{v}–376^{r}, 376^{r}; Fleming, *Domesday Book*, nos 1083, 1085, 1087, and 1097 (all have *exiuit*).

[64] II Atr. 7.1, *The Laws of the Kings*, ed. and trans. by Robertson, pp. 60–61.

[65] G. Garnett, 'Franci et Angli: The Legal Distinctions between Peoples after the Conquest', *ANS*, 8 (1985), 109–37 (p. 127 n. 141); note that Liebermann in *Gesetze*, III, 83 n. 6, argues that the ordinance applied only to the Danelaw.

cases of outlawry in a separate clause.[66] In all charges of outlawry against Englishmen, they could only exonerate themselves through the ordeal of the iron. The implication is that oathtaking or trial by battle was not allowed. Presumably supporting oaths would have been unacceptable on the grounds that English oath helpers would be fellow countrymen inclined to help the accused.[67] If an Englishman brought a charge of outlawry against a Frenchman the latter could clear himself through battle. Thus the conquerors are allowed to use arms to settle outlawry accusations, whereas the English, and perhaps the Danes, were not.[68] As George Garnett has observed, the procedure advantaged the French not the English.[69] This is nowhere more clear than in the subsequent clause which states that if an Englishman did not wish to do battle against the Frenchman (namely in the scenario sketched above of an Englishman bringing a charge of outlawry against a Frenchman), the Frenchman could clear himself (not by trial by combat, but) by a comprehensive oath. That is an oath that does not depend on formulaic exactitude, something that might have been too difficult if a Frenchman were to clear himself with a precise rendition in English of some legal formula. Throughout William the Conqueror's reign it is difficult to see, however, how any Englishman could have been in a position to charge one of the continental conquerors with a charge of outlawry that could have been executed.

The lengthy excursus into the evidence provided by Domesday Book for the purpose of understanding the vocabulary of exile and outlawry at the beginning of the eleventh century has shown that by the late 1080s the Scandinavian loanword *utlah* and its variants vastly outnumbered the indigenous and classical Latin vocabulary. I have argued that for the period around the millennium it was the frequency with which exile and outlawry hit the Scandinavian mercenaries, harassing areas in England and Normandy, which may have caused the linguistic association between the Scandinavian word for banning and the Scandinavian mercenaries. As a result of this linguistic association embedded in a Scandinavian context, the Scandinavian loan vocabulary became the dominant one in cases of exile and banning in England, and was used for a while in a legal context in Normandy as well. I have also tried to show that a comparison between these two areas and Scandinavia, and in particular Iceland, does not help so much with the linguistic evidence since the *utlah* vocabulary is not used in Iceland. However, the practice of exile and outlawry there does show interesting parallels, suggesting that any future study of exile and outlawry in Europe, even though I have concentrated here on England and Normandy, benefits from the comparative approach. For the practice of banning in these areas is emphatically not a Scandinavian custom introduced there by Scandinavian leaders, be they

[66] *Regesta*, ed. by Bates, no. 130, pp. 445–48.

[67] Garnett, 'Franci et Angli', p. 130–33.

[68] *Regesta*, ed. by Bates, no. 130.

[69] Garnett, 'Franci et Angli', p. 133.

Rollo in Normandy or local Scandinavian kings in England. It is my suggestion that the custom of banning was well known in all areas under observation. What was new was the relatively sudden use of a Scandinavian loanword *utlah* by Anglo-Saxon kings and Norman dukes from the late tenth century onwards in their dealings specifically with Scandinavian troublemakers. The label of *utlah* was given to them and subsequently used for the English and to a lesser extent for the Normans in cases of banishment that had nothing to do with Scandinavians. This then had as a result that, within the space of one century, the *utlah* vocabulary could become the predominant word for exile and outlawry in Domesday Book.

The Process of Norman Exile into Southern Italy*

EWAN JOHNSON

Over the course of the eleventh century small groups of Northern European knights, a large proportion of whom came from Normandy, came to occupy the highest positions in the societies of Southern Italy.[1] This displacement of a large part of the previous ruling elite was accomplished gradually and without any single organizational force, and involved not just military conquest but an accommodation with local interests, which for many meant marriage with the Lombard women who had helped to, and continued to, maintain these interests.[2] The gradual nature of this process has raised historiographical interest in the extent and timing of the Normans' assimilation into the societies, especially the Lombard ones, they

* I would like to thank the Arts and Humanities Research Board and the Leverhulme Trust for providing financial support over the period in which this paper was written.

[1] The standard history is F. Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile*, 2 vols (Paris: Protat Frères, 1907). D. Matthew, *The Norman Kingdom of Sicily* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), provides an overview in English, although has no footnotes. L.-R. Ménager, 'Inventaire des familles normandes et franques émigrées en Italie mériondale et en Sicile (XI^e–XII^e siècles)', in *Roberto Guiscardo e il suo tempo (Relazioni e communicazioni nelle prime giornate normanno-sveve, Bari, maggio 1973)* (Rome: Il centro di ricerca, 1975), pp. 259–390, demonstrates that the majority of such men came from Normandy. G. A. Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard* (Harlow: Longman, 2000), pp. 60–66, stresses the variety of Norman groups.

[2] G. A. Loud, 'How "Norman" was the Norman Conquest of Southern Italy?', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 25 (1981), 13–34, discusses the issues broadly. On individual cases of intermarriage, see G. A. Loud, 'Continuity and Change in Norman Italy: The Campania in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', *JMH*, 22 (1996), 314–43; P. Skinner, *Family Power in Southern Italy: The Duchy of Gaeta and its Neighbours 850–1139* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); H. Taviani-Carozzi, *La Principauté lombarde de Salerne (IX^e–XI^e siècle): Pouvoir et société en Italie lombarde méridionale* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1991).

encountered.[3] Such studies have, rightly, focused on evidence from Italy and have not differentiated greatly between the reasons for different Normans' presence in Italy, partly because it remains evidentially difficult to be certain of the motives most individuals had for leaving Normandy. Yet the process which brought individuals from Normandy, and their motivations in leaving, had an obvious impact on their actions in Southern Italy. In general, the account is one of small, loosely bound groups of Norman knights who took service with existing power groups and used the opportunities presented to consolidate claims to land.[4] As Norman leaders with land and wealth emerged, newcomers from Normandy in turn took service with them. The suggested motivation is always financial enrichment through money or land, and the means of recruitment seems to have been sending word to Normandy or binding those already present to you through gifts. Individuals who voluntarily left Normandy in this way, and who were successful, had an obvious motivation for settling in Italy and severing political ties with Normandy, and rapidly adapted to Italian conditions.

Those who were driven out through the political actions of the Duke of Normandy represent a distinct group, however, both because the politicized nature of their departure makes their motivation for leaving Normandy apparent, and because it affected the links they maintained with Normandy on arrival.[5] In this essay I hope to examine how the process of exile, and exiles' understanding of it, could help shape their relationship with Normandy whilst in Italy, and hence their identities as 'Normans'. The main body of the essay, however, concerns itself with what such an

[3] E. Cuozzo, 'À propos de la coexistance entre normands et lombardes dans le royaume de Sicile: La Révolte féodale de 1160–2', in *Peuples du Moyen Age: Problèmes d'identification*, ed. by C. Carozzi and H. Taviani-Carozzi (Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence, 1996), pp. 45–56; J. H. Drell, 'Cultural Syncretism and Ethnic Identity: The Norman "Conquest" of Southern Italy and Sicily', *JMH*, 25.3 (1999), 187–202, are explicit, although consideration of the subject is impossible without the studies listed in note 2 above.

[4] For the beginnings of Norman activity, see J. France, 'The Occasion of the Coming of the Normans to Italy', *JMH*, 17 (1991), 185–205; H. Hoffmann, 'Die Anfänge der Normannen in Unteritalien', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 49 (1969), 95–144; E. Joranson, 'The Inception of the Career of the Normans in Italy – Legend and History', *Speculum*, 23 (1948), 353–96; and Loud, *Robert Guiscard*, pp. 81–91. Loud and Hoffman sensibly account for variations in source material by pointing out the disparate and wide-ranging nature of Norman activity.

[5] Loud, *Robert Guiscard*, pp. 81–91, suggests that the timeframe and overwhelmingly Norman nature of the conquest of Southern Italy would support extending exile caused by political instability as a more general motivation. This is a different understanding of exile than 'banishment by the duke' which, despite the fact that such power (derived from the Scandinavian *ullac*) was unique to Normandy within France, could not account for such extensive emigration. I am sceptical, without evidence of the extent to which movement occurred within France, that Normandy was necessarily producing more exiles than elsewhere. To talk of individuals exiled as one group is difficult, since it includes both those who have a chance of return and those who do not.

understanding of exile might be, because this is both necessary and of more general relevance to the concerns of this volume. The key features of such an understanding are that the process of exile was tenurially rather than legalistically perceived and that it was potentially reversible.

I will concentrate here on those sources which tell us most about those who were driven from Normandy and the process by which they were expelled. Most information is given by sources from Normandy itself, since they describe events which were of interest there but which mattered much less when explaining events in Southern Italy. I have not limited myself solely to cases where the individual ended up in Italy, since this would seem to unduly limit an understanding of how the process of exile was perceived in Normandy, and to introduce a distinction between the eventual destination in exile which is not there in the source material. I will concentrate particularly on the works of Orderic Vitalis, an English-born monk of St-Évroult, who interpolated the classic work of Norman history, the serial biography of the dukes now known as the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, at some point before 1109 and then, over a thirty-year period, wrote a broader history of the world he knew, misleadingly called the *Ecclesiastical History*.[6] The works, the *Ecclesiastical History* in particular, provide a treasure trove of information on the lives and attitudes of mid-ranking nobility in the Duchy of Normandy, in particular the Giroie family, whose donations both founded and sustained St-Évroult.[7] In 1058 Roger of Montgomery persuaded Duke William to exile the heads of two Giroie houses: Arnold of Echauffour and Hugh of Grandmesnil.[8] In fact their exile was rather a misnomer, for although Arnold nominally decamped across the border, he spent three years pillaging lands in the Lieuvin before he eventually left for Italy.[9] His period outside Normandy was also short, and he was able to return before his death in 1064 and purchase the Duke's pardon.[10] Hugh had actually left for Italy but had returned to fight for Duke William before 1064.[11] Another member of the Giroie family, Robert II of Grandmesnil, was at the time Abbot of St-Évroult. Although it is unclear whether his initial departure was forced or undertaken voluntarily to seek papal help for his kin, Robert ended up in Southern Italy along with at least eleven of his monks

[6] *GND* and Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*.

[7] On the Giroies generally, see P. Baudin, 'Une famille châtelaine sur les confins normanno-manceaux: Les Géré (X^e^–XIII^e^ siècle)', *Archéologie médiévale*, 22 (1992), 309–56, and J.-M. Maillefer, 'Une famille aristocratique aux confins de la Normandie: Les Géré au XI^e^ siècle', in *Autour du pouvoir ducal Normand X^e^–XII^e^ siècles*, ed. by L. Musset, J.-M. Bouvris, and J.-M. Maillefer, Cahier des Annales de Normandie, 17 (Caen: Centre d'Etudes normandes de l'Université de Caen, 1985), pp. 175–206.

[8] Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, II, 90.

[9] Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, II, 92, 106.

[10] Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, II, 106, 122.

[11] Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, II, 106.

and was unable to return to Normandy until 1077.[12] Exile therefore plays a prominent part in Orderic's attempts to explain the past and present of both his monastery and Normandy in general.

Although the works give much information about exile, they give very little information about any legal process which might be expected before it could be demanded. There is, indeed, no distinction between those whose departure was specifically demanded by authority, and who might therefore have some specific legal status as 'exiles', and those forced to leave Normandy due to political losses or because they had committed an act which made it difficult to remain or return. There is no suggestion that terminology such as *exilium* carried specific legal meanings. The *Ecclesiastical History* is so rich in allusion to exile that some uses might be seen as a metaphoric extension of such legal meanings. Orderic uses them, for example, to describe his own retreat to St-Évroult aged twelve and the exile of a dead man to heaven.[13] Yet other examples suggest that these terms could be used non-metaphorically, yet without distinction between those who fled and those whose departure was demanded. When Robert of Grandmesnil, the Giroie Abbot of St-Évroult who had fled with his kin in 1058, eventually returned to Normandy, King William, according to Book Five of the *Ecclesiastical History*, asked Robert's pardon for driving him into an unjust exile, an *exilium iniuste*.[14] The description of Robert's flight in Book Three, however, makes no mention of any formal process or sentence being pronounced upon Robert and states only that he fled of his own volition aware that the Duke might harm him.[15] The language reflects this, and throughout Book Three the Latin text refers to Robert's exile without using the term *exilium*.[16] Two killers who fled after their crimes and cannot return are described in the *Ecclesiastical History*, one as an exile and one not. Hugh Bunel appears at the siege of Jerusalem and is described as exiled for murder (*exulantem homicidam*), whilst Osmund Drengot, who likewise fled the Duke's anger after committing murder, is described merely as having fled (*aufugit*).[17] Furthermore, the description elsewhere of Hugh Bunel's killing of Mabel of Bellême and subsequent flight makes no mention of exile but states simply that he fled out of fear and left Normandy behind him.[18] The only point in the

[12] *GND*, II, 152–54; Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, II, 90, 94–96; III, 158–60.

[13] Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, III, 146; VI, 552; IV, 310.

[14] Lucien Musset, 'Autour des modalités juridiques de l'expansion normande au XI^e siècle: Le Droit d'exil', in *Autour du pouvoir ducal Normand*, ed. by Musset, Bouvris, and Maillefer, pp. 45–59 (p. 50), makes a similar point about the lack of judicial procedure. For Robert's return, see Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, III, 158.

[15] Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, II, 90, 94–96.

[16] Terminology is *pateretur, Galliam expetiit* (Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, II, 90), and *fugatus* (p. 94).

[17] Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, V, 158; II, 56.

[18] Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, III, 137.

work at which a duke specifically orders someone to leave Normandy does not use the term exile and is clearly not a set-piece, formal statement. Robert, abbot of St-Pierre-sur-Dives, is told simply 'Traitor, flee from my land' after his involvement in an assassination attempt on the king.[19] Given the somewhat arbitrary nature of ducal punishment of his heroes the Giroies, Orderic would surely have differentiated between the Giroies and other exiles if he had felt their status to be different from these others. I find it extraordinary that Orderic would be so indiscriminate in his language, both between and within cases, if he perceived 'exile' as an important term which conveyed a specific legal status or process. It is unlikely that this represents a cloistered misunderstanding of the actual process of exile, rather than a common perception of the time, even if we allow that Orderic's own foreign origin and sources of information might make the importance he attached to exile unrepresentative of Normandy as a whole.[20] Orderic could not have been so uncertain about the technical process behind the *exilium* of his own abbot if a pronouncement by the Duke was perceived as important in changing Robert's status legally, particularly since he was clearly aware of Duke William's response to the controversy over the status of Robert's successor.[21] Orderic was also aware, as part of his role in copying and maintaining St-Évroult's records, that the monastery was in legal dispute with the kin of at least one returning exile, Robert of Vitot, who wished to receive back land confiscated on his exile and granted to St-Évroult in his absence.[22] If the precise nature and process of his exile had any legal bearing on the dispute, Orderic would therefore have been aware of it and likely to mention it.

There is also no evidence from Orderic's texts, therefore, that expressions of ducal anger which produced flight need have been the culmination of a specific legal process which involved any kind of formal trial or pronouncement of guilt. With this in mind, it is perhaps not unsurprising that there is no evidence that it was deployed in a systematic way to punish any particular crime. Ralph of Tosny, Arnold of Echauffour, and Hugh of Grandmesnil were not the only figures described as exiled for supposed offences against the authority of the Duke.[23] William Busac, son of William, count of Eu, was exiled for supposedly claiming the duchy for himself.[24] William Werlenc, count of Mortain, was perhaps more unfortunate to be exiled for plotting rebellion at some point after 1055.[25] Yet at other times exile can be used to describe a punishment for a non-political crime, such as murder in hot blood. It was this that led

[19] Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, VI, 82.

[20] See also the essay by Chris Lewis in this volume.

[21] Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, II, 94, 108–14.

[22] Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, II, 120.

[23] Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, II, 90.

[24] *GND*, II, 128.

[25] *GND*, II, 126.

Osmund Drengot to flee, for his victim had openly boasted of seducing Osmund's daughter.[26] Neither is there any suggestion that banishment can be rendered invalid because it is a disproportionate punishment for a given act. Orderic describes his abbot's exile as unjust because he disputes that Robert, or any Giroie, committed a certain act, not that the act was not one for which banishment was acceptable.[27] Similarly, Geoffrey of Neufmarché is described as expelled for trivial offences, although with no suggestion that the Duke exceeded his powers in doing so.[28]

To study how Norman exiles in Italy understood the conditions of exile, therefore, it is necessary to understand exile not as some formalized legal process, but rather as any process by which fear of authority might drive someone from Normandy. The most obvious process by which exile could be forced is disinheritance, which would deprive an individual of political, and indeed material, sustenance within Normandy. Not only is this the case, but the idea of disinheritance and exile are closely enough linked to suggest that exile was seen predominantly as a tenurial matter in late eleventh- and early twelfth-century Normandy.

Orderic is clear that exile and disinheritance often coincide, so that, for example, Duke William is stated to have both disinherited Arnold of Echauffour and Hugh of Grandmesnil and driven them into long exile.[29] So closely were the two punishments linked that at times there is no need to distinguish between them. When William the Conqueror's death was made known in Calabria and Rome some Normans there, according to Orderic, returned to Normandy.[30] These would seem to be classic examples of exiles: driven away by one duke and deprived of land. Yet the Latin refers to them simply as the disinherited, *exheredatis*. At other times, disinheritance and exile stand as a pair in opposition to other sanctions. Henry I is reported to have fined some traitors but disinherited and exiled those he considered more serious threats.[31] The perceived connection is confirmed by the fact that full restoration of lands was socially expected if an exiled individual was pardoned, even if the legal status of the land was far from clear. It is this that lies behind Orderic's claims that Robert Vitot's kin maintained a claim to land confiscated at exile.[32] At other points it is clear that the force of exile can only extend to areas where disinheritance is also possible. Ralph de Gael, a Breton, was exiled for his part in the rebellion in England in 1077.

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[26] Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, II, 56.

[27] Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, II, 90, suggests Mabel of Bellême and her husband, Roger of Montgomery, fabricated the charges and that there was no proof of guilt.

[28] Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, II, 130.

[29] *Exhereditauit [. . .]. exulare coegit*: Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, II, 90.

[30] Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, IV, 102.

[31] Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, VI, 12.

[32] Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, II, 120. See above.

He was disinherited in England but made for Brittany, where the English king could not confiscate Ralph's patrimony.[33]

The close linkage between disinheritance and exile might go some way to explaining how exile, seen as a ducal prerogative, is a power seemingly exercised by so many in Orderic's texts. Once the idea of exile as a formal legal status endorsed by ducal authority is dispensed with, anyone who had the power to control land in a certain area could also be said to have the power of banishment. Mabel of Bellême is said to have forcibly disinherited many and driven them 'to beg their bread in foreign lands'.[34] The terminology is more specifically that of exile for those whom Robert of Bellême had expelled from their paternal lands due to their support for Henry I, and whom Henry restores.[35] There is no difference in terms of the terminology used between these cases and those in which exile was caused by ducal actions, only an acceptance that a different political process is necessary to reverse them. It is, perhaps, this linkage between the power to control tenure and to exile that accounts for the perception that the Norman dukes alone preserved the right to punish through banishment. Clearly, they would jealously guard the right to control tenure within Normandy. No duke with practical power within Normandy would have allowed disinheritance and exile without his sanction. Indeed, the instances given above where others force exile are precisely those where ducal power is weak, as in Henry's conflict with Robert of Bellême, or where dukes are portrayed as manipulated into sanctioning exile, such as Mabel of Bellême's campaign against the Giroies.[36] It is also obvious that at a practical level the dukes, as the only figures with a supposed competence over the whole of Normandy, were the only figures who could impose, even at a theoretical level, banishment from Normandy as a whole.

One consequence of the looser understanding of effective banishment which I have argued operated in Normandy is that periods of exile from Normandy, because not legally defined, need not have been very lengthy if ducal policy changed. Changes in outlook by the duke could drive people to exile. William Werlenc of Mortain, for example, seems to have been exiled as part of an ongoing ducal policy to entrust border castles, such as Mortain, to Duke William's kinsmen. Yet shifts in ducal policy could also recall from exile those now seen as needed. Book Three of the *Ecclesiastical History* states that it was because he was faced with a conflict between the Normans and their neighbours in Maine and Brittany in 1062 that William recalled important exiles, notably from Orderic's point of view Ralph of Tosny and Hugh of Grandmesnil.[37] There is also evidence that this was used as an occasion for ducal fundraising. One exile, Arnold of Echauffour, travelled to Apulia and returned

[33] Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, II, 318.

[34] Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, III, 136.

[35] Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, VI, 180.

[36] See above, notes 27 and 28.

[37] Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, II, 104–06.

with huge wealth and a costly mantle, which he presented to the Duke.[38] It can be no coincidence that the Giroies, as capable commanders who held castles on the borders with Maine, were allowed to return to their lands at this point. The change in political circumstance which produced a recall from exile could also take a more drastic form. The shift in power from Robert of Bellême to Henry was what allowed Henry to recall those exiled from Robert's land.[39] The death of a duke was also a point at which exiles might be expected to return, so that in practice banishment was a process specific to the duke as a person, rather than the duke as an office. Hence, as mentioned above, William the Conqueror's death brought about the return from Italy of many he had banished.[40] Henry I likewise included exiles in his deathbed pardon and allowed them to return to their ancestral lands.[41]

The imprecise nature of banishment also meant that its effects were felt beyond the individuals who suffered directly. Orderic describes the Giroie family as a whole as concerned that they would be banished in 1061, and it was this fear that led Robert, abbot of St-Évroult, to flee.[42] Judith and Emma, sisters of Abbot Robert, went to Italy and married there, despite having taken the veil in Normandy.[43] William Werlenc, count of Mortain, is stated to have left for Apulia accompanied by only one squire.[44] Yet three men using Mortain as a toponym, Godfrey, Richard, and Peter, all witness comital charters in Southern Italy between 1089 and 1102.[45] It would not be too imaginative to think them his sons. Certainly William took children with him, for Roger I, Norman count of Sicily and Calabria, married William's daughter, Eremburga.[46] Others took unidentified followers with them, since Ralph of Tosny and Hugh of Grandmesnil were accompanied by such followers at departure and when they returned.[47]

How, then, might the perception of exile argued for above have affected our understanding of how exiled individuals behaved in Southern Italy? The fact that banishment from Normandy was, for at least some, non-permanent must have

[38] Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, II, 106, 122.

[39] Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, VI, 180.

[40] Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, IV, 102.

[41] Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, VI, 448.

[42] Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, II, 90.

[43] Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, II, 102. Marjorie Chibnall's note (Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, II, 76 n. 3) and Leonie Hicks's essay (this volume) suggest that they also initially took the veil because of the Duke's wrath towards their family.

[44] *GND*, II, 126.

[45] See Ménager, 'Inventaire', pp. 330–31 and n. 1, p. 331, for a summary of the evidence. For reasons of space in the footnotes I have not included Ménager's citations here.

[46] Ménager, 'Inventaire', p. 330.

[47] Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, II, 90, 106.

affected their integration into Italian society. In certain cases, although exile accounted for the presence of individuals in Italy, it may also have accounted for their lack of lasting impact. Some, such as Arnold of Echauffour, clearly remained centred on regaining their Norman territory and spent only a short time in Italy, in which it was used as little more than a source of wealth with which to buy ducal favour. The persistence, and eventual demise, in the use of titles from Normandy to identify themselves or others suggests that other Normans too remained aware of the possibility of return, even if they were never able to return to Normandy. A Norman named Robert witnessed several charters at Palermo, as son of William, count of Eu, before 1096. At that date his family rebelled in Normandy, and Count William was blinded and castrated. The next charter identifiably witnessed by Robert, in 1100, fails to use the toponym from Normandy, a change Ménager plausibly suggests may be due to the impossibility of recovering the comital title in Normandy.[48] The use of the toponym Mortain in Italy likewise died out once the three individuals named above had died, although there is no clear evidence that they changed it over their lifetimes. Since individuals in Italy continued to use place names in Normandy to identify themselves throughout the twelfth century, these titles cannot have been abandoned simply because Normandy was a distant memory, but rather because the titles were now worthless. There does, then, seem a link between the point when the identification was abandoned and the point when holdings in Normandy clearly became unrecoverable.

It is uncertain how far less prominent individuals might also have been engaged in similar activity. The county of Eu, and to a lesser extent the Giroies' holdings near Maine, were sizeable border territories of particular concern to the Norman duke. There was therefore a clear motivation to return if ducal policy would be changed, and some chance that it might. The critical point when Normandy ceased to be a useful political option therefore occurred only when there became no realistic hope of changing ducal policy, at which point these families stopped using titles from Normandy. Other exiles must have faced the same dilemma, and some clearly saw return as a best option, for the death of Duke William saw them leave Italy and return to seek pardon.[49] Others, however, clearly saw Italy as a better option, which brought greater rewards at less political cost. This is true of the exile that most concerned Orderic, Abbot Robert, who could probably have returned permanently in 1077 but instead stayed in Italy and accepted the status and wealth inherent in being Abbot of Sant'Eufemia.[50] For many who left for reasons not directly connected to ducal policy, the decision was weighted heavily by what they had given up in Normandy,

[48] For a summary of the diplomatic evidence, see Ménager, 'Inventaire', p. 312.

[49] Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, IV, 102.

[50] On perceptions of Sant'Eufemia's wealth, see Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, II, 100–02. Robert had already made his decision by ceasing to agitate for a return to St-Évroult: Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, II, 112–14.

either selling their land or mortgaging it and not returning.[51] Others may have had less to give up in the first place.[52] It is interesting that there was no real attempt to have connected holdings in both Italy and Normandy and that the two remained politically distinct even if individual Norman families occasionally exploited links with Italy. Some of those exiled, or descended from exiles, might have made the break from Normandy later down the line than those who had few opportunities in Normandy itself, but once it was made they were able to integrate into Italian political society. The true exceptions are the Giroies and other prominent exiles about whom Orderic tells us so much, who never lost enough in Normandy to truly settle in Italy. Orderic's own understanding of exile might, it seems, therefore give us vital information about how unrepresentative those he tells of are in their links with Normandy whilst in Italy.

[51] For example, *Radulfo filio Aveniae* who sold land before 1040 in exchange for campaign goods: Ménager, 'Inventaire', p. 299. *Radulfus Malregart* mortgaged his land. See L. Musset, 'Actes inédits du XI^e siècle', *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie*, 56 (1961–62), 5–41 (p. 28), and Ménager, 'Inventaire', p. 343.

[52] Roger Bigot reportedly wanted to leave Normandy for Italy because he was 'oppressed by poverty': *GND*, II, 126.

Gruffudd ap Cynan and the Reality and Representation of Exile

C. P. LEWIS

To say that exiles can be found everywhere in the Anglo-Norman world is to turn into a nicely inverted paradox the message conveyed by several other essays in this volume. It would be truer to say that exiles were everywhere *outside* that world, since Anglo-Norman exiles had necessarily been banished or gone voluntarily, for whatever reason, beyond the boundaries of England or Normandy. They were insiders turned outside, often temporarily. More widely, the exile, whether wandering or settled, was a common figure in north-west Europe in the central Middle Ages, both in real life and in narrative texts of all kinds.

'Exile' had multiple meanings. Sometimes it implied formal judicial banishment, but other individuals who went into exile had clearly not gone through a legal process of any kind, rather had been sent away against their will, with or without actual or threatened coercion. Some exiles had left of their own volition, choosing absence as a means, perhaps, of avoiding political difficulties at home. Others had journeyed away for reasons unconnected with politics. In short the idea of exile, at its edges, dissolves into soft focus, merging variously into banishment, flight, enforced removal, captivity, voluntary departure, and many other types of displacement.

A perspective on exile taken from a viewpoint beyond the limits of the Anglo-Norman world proper, in the north Welsh kingdom of Gwynedd, offers a number of challenges to mainstream ideas drawn from the heartlands of England, Normandy, and Francophone Europe generally. The interest in looking at Gwynedd derives from the combination of physical proximity to Anglo-Norman territory with cultural distance, though the latter should not be exaggerated. The cultural ambiguity of Gwynedd was exemplified by the key figure there in the earlier twelfth century, Gruffudd ap Cynan, through whose long career several different strands were interwoven. At his death, for example, he left money to churches located widely across in Wales, Ireland, and England. In life his military retinue at times included Welsh notables,

both Irishmen and 'Danes' from Ireland, and Normans from Cheshire. He was 'eloquent in several languages'.[1] Gruffudd indeed bestrode a world that stretched from his encounter in 1075 with a Welsh 'wise woman' prophesying his future,[2] to his appointment in 1120 of a much travelled and cosmopolitan Irishman as Bishop of Bangor.[3] Gruffudd is so vivid a historical figure because of the survival of a remarkable narrative source, the short biography known as the *History* (or *Life*) *of Gruffudd ap Cynan*. In truth, neither Gruffudd nor the *Life* is much known beyond Welsh historians, and even among them the text has been mined far more frequently to reconstruct politics than to explore mentalities. The angle which it offers on the question of exile, however, is a valuable one deserving a larger audience.

Gwynedd lay at many cultural intersections in the first third of the twelfth century. The kingdom was centred on the mountains of Snowdonia and the fertile corn-growing lands of Anglesey and the Llŷn peninsula. Those of its rulers who were secure at home tended to be drawn into fighting to establish a wider overlordship across north and mid-Wales, so that Gwynedd played a prominent part in the history of the Welsh principalities in the Anglo-Norman era and afterwards.[4] Its first and foremost cultural context was thus Welsh. The kingdom also lay within the outer orbit of rulers of the English. Norman and Angevin kings alike clearly thought about Gwynedd, and at times could reach out and touch it, in the sense of influencing what happened there, though they were never able to secure a firm political grasp and eventually gave up trying, in favour of less direct approaches. North-west Wales was thus at best on the periphery of the Anglo-Norman world.[5] At the same time, however, it turned yet another face away from the Norman-controlled lowland zone of Britain towards the west. Its affinities were strongest around the littoral of the Irish Sea, and in relation to that 'British Mediterranean' Gwynedd was pretty much central, not on the edge. The zone encompassed the sea routes between Dublin, Chester, Bristol, and Waterford, but also extended beyond the Isle of Man and the North Channel to the Scandinavian Hebrides.[6]

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[1] *MPW*, p. 70; *HGK*, p. 17; *HGC*, pp. 132–33.

[2] *MPW*, p. 60; *HGK*, p. 7; *HGC*, pp. 112–15.

[3] C. P. Lewis, 'Gruffudd ap Cynan and the Normans', in *Gruffudd ap Cynan: A Collaborative Biography*, ed. by K. L. Maund (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1996), pp. 61–77 (pp. 75–76).

[4] A useful recent narrative is Kari Maund, *The Welsh Kings* (Stroud: Tempus, 2000), pp. 71–148; for the structure of politics, see R. R. Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence, and Change: Wales 1063–1415* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), pp. 56–81.

[5] On the theme of core and periphery, see esp. R. R. Davies, *Domination and Conquest: The Experience of Ireland, Scotland and Wales 1100–1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 66–87; R. R. Davies, *The First English Empire: Power and Identities in the British Isles 1093–1343* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

[6] Colmán Etchingham, 'North Wales, Ireland and the Isles: The Insular Viking Zone', *Peritia*, 15 (2001), 145–87 (esp. p. 145).

Gwynedd was therefore, politically and culturally, both on the fringes and at the centre of things: it was both periphery and core. Its dual aspect draws attention to the ways in which exile was played out in practice in the career of Gruffudd ap Cynan, but more especially to how exile was constructed and presented in his *Life*. The essence of exile as normally understood is the movement of individuals or peoples from core regions to and beyond peripheries. What, then, for Gruffudd was the core and what the periphery? And how did the author of the *Life* understand Gruffudd's movements between Gwynedd and other lands?

To anticipate what follows, I shall argue for a striking difference between the reality of exile in Gruffudd's career and its representation in the *Life*. Gruffudd spent long periods away from his rightful kingdom of Gwynedd, sometimes voluntarily, sometimes because he was expelled or detained elsewhere by force. His absences took place in ways which in other cultural contexts of the period, particularly the Anglo-Norman world, would have been construed and historicized as exile, and which modern historians have seen in the same fashion. But the *Life* chose not to present Gruffudd in that light. Its author was reluctant or unable to recognize exile in Gruffudd's experiences. That was in part related to the ways in which exile overlapped with other types of dislocation. It also serves to bring to attention 'exile' as a way in which some authors of narrative texts but not others explained such absences from home. Authors had a choice of words to describe situations such as Gruffudd's. Some words more obviously than others conveyed the idea of exile. Choice of words was informed by the ideas in authors' heads, and both concepts and words may have differed not just between individual authors but more systematically between the societies in which they lived. In short, a more pressing concern here than to establish whether Gruffudd really was an exile will be to enquire how far 'exile' as a whole might have been culturally constructed in the twelfth century. The case of Gruffudd ap Cynan, in other words, throws light on what can be seen as the central tension between the reality and the representation of exile in the central Middle Ages: exile was both an event in the real world and a narrative construct.

Gruffudd ap Cynan first appeared on the scene in 1075, as an adventurer seeking to reclaim his lost patrimony in north-west Wales, which had been ruled fifty years earlier by his paternal grandfather Iago, but from which his father Cynan had been expelled in 1039 without ever being king.[7] At his death as a blind old man of 82 in 1137 Gruffudd was titular ruler of an enlarged kingdom of Gwynedd. His erratic progress from adventurer to king is the central story of the *Life*, which makes it clear that he owed his secure position as ruler to the assistance of Henry I of England during the period from 1102 to about 1110.[8] Gruffudd interacted with the Normans of England throughout his career, by turns as ally and foe, but also played on a stage

[7] Maund, *Welsh Kings*, p. 63; K. L. Maund, *Ireland, Wales, and England in the Eleventh Century* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1991), pp. 62–64.

[8] Lewis, 'Gruffudd and the Normans', pp. 72–74.

which involved other Welsh princes and Irish kings, both native and Scandinavian. Throughout his earlier career he moved often and with ease across the ocean between Wales and Ireland; the place most frequently mentioned in the *Life* was the harbour of Abermenai at the southern tip of Anglesey, Gruffudd's normal point of embarkation for and landfall from Ireland, where he first set foot in Wales in 1075 and which, in death, he bequeathed to his queen.[9]

The *History of Gruffudd ap Cynan* has until very recently been studied through a Welsh text written in the thirteenth century and surviving in only one near-contemporary manuscript, where it is called *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan*.[10] It has long been known that the Welsh version was a translation from Latin, not least because it explained the meaning of Welsh place names, unnecessary in a text originally written in Welsh (because the place names were in themselves comprehensible to Welsh speakers) but appropriate in a Latin work.[11] The lack of a text in the language of original composition has made it difficult if not impossible to say anything meaningful about the mental framework and intentions of its author.[12] Recently, however, there has been a breakthrough in serious study of the text. The Tudor revival of interest in medieval Welsh history produced not only further manuscript copies of the Welsh *Life*, but also a retranslation into Latin for the benefit of non-Cymrophone scholars.[13] Dr Paul Russell has now demonstrated that one of those sixteenth-century manuscripts conceals a Latin version older than the Welsh and closer to the *Life* as originally written.[14]

Russell's manuscript consists of a fair copy in the hand of the Denbighshire gentleman-scholar Edward Thelwall (d. 1610), heavily edited and annotated by himself and others. The result is palaeographically daunting, but Russell has patiently stripped off the layers of emendation to reveal Thelwall's working methods as well as the words of the fair copy. Thelwall's purpose was to bring what he must have regarded as a deviant Latin version of the *History of Gruffudd ap Cynan* into line with the

[9] *MPW*, pp. 59, 83; *HGK*, pp. 6, 32; *HGC*, pp. 112–13, 156–57; for Abermenai, see A. D. Carr, *Medieval Anglesey* (Llangefni: Anglesey Antiquarian Society, 1982), pp. 24–25, 115–16.

[10] Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales (hereafter NLW), Peniarth MS 17, fols 1–16. The last quarter of the text is missing from that manuscript and in both modern editions is supplied from a sixteenth-century copy of the lost Welsh original: NLW, Peniarth MS 267, fols 373–86; see further *HGK*, pp. ccli–cclxxiii (in Welsh); *HGC*, pp. 1–9.

[11] Well explained in *HGC*, pp. 14–16.

[12] Nerys Ann Jones, '*Historia Gruffud vab Kenan*: The First Audience', in *Gruffudd: Collaborative Biography*, ed. by Maund, pp. 149–56.

[13] *HGC*, pp. 9–14; *HGK*, pp. cclxxiv–cclxxxii; Ceri Davies, 'The Sixteenth-Century Latin Translation of *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan*', in *Gruffudd: Collaborative Biography*, ed. by Maund, pp. 157–64.

[14] NLW, Peniarth MS 434E, pp. 1–54.

familiar Welsh text.[15] Russell makes no claim that the restored text of the underlying fair copy is the *Life* as originally written, but it certainly offers a clearer picture of the language and concepts in which Gruffudd's career was first framed and presented. In doing so it disposes of the case that the *History* is essentially of the thirteenth century and has little to tell us about how Gruffudd was seen by his contemporaries: the anachronisms pointing to a later period are now shown to be insertions when the work was first translated from Latin into Welsh perhaps around 1250.[16] Russell also demonstrates that the Welsh text was mostly a faithful translation of the Latin, one which made few changes of fact but enlarged on its source with fuller explanations of motivation and a heavier stress on the role and importance of the men of Gwynedd in the story of Gruffudd's career. That may well have been, as Russell suggests, because the original Latin *Life* was not written in north Wales, and therefore lacked the clear north Walian focus thought desirable by the translator for his local audience in the thirteenth century.

A further important point will be clarified when it is possible to study the recovered earliest Latin text of the *Life*. It must have been composed soon after Gruffudd's death in 1137 and based to a large degree upon oral stories about him which had been circulating during his lifetime, especially ones which related incidents during the earlier part of his active career between 1075 and about 1110, before he came to power in Gwynedd.[17]

Gruffudd ap Cynan, as presented in the *Life*, looks like an exile. Grandson of a King of Gwynedd, he was born and brought up away from home among his mother's people in Dublin. Twice as a young man, in 1075 and 1081, he travelled from exile in Ireland to north Wales in an attempt to reclaim his patrimony. Both efforts met with some success, but in the first he was defeated and went back to exile in Ireland, and in the second he was captured by the Normans and spent a long period as a prisoner in exile at Chester. Now probably in his late thirties, he escaped from Chester, evidently in 1093, and after some adventures in north Wales returned once again to exile in Ireland. Three more times he mounted expeditions from there to regain his rightful lands. Twice he was repulsed back into exile, and only at the third attempt did he establish himself in Gwynedd. In short, Gruffudd looks like a classic political exile of the central Middle Ages, with frequent crossings of the Irish Sea and long periods spent outside his ancestral territory.

But all this is our idea of exile, not the *Life*'s. The text as it stands does not present Gruffudd as an exile, employing neither the vocabulary nor an appropriate conceptual scheme. The absence of exile is most striking at the moments when Gruffudd embarked on his many perilous journeys by sea. The language employed is always

[15] I am immensely grateful for Dr Russell's great kindness in sharing his work with me in advance of publication. It will henceforward be cited from draft text by numbered paragraph and sentence; translations mine except where stated otherwise.

[16] Maund, *Ireland, Wales, and England*, pp. 171–74.

[17] C. P. Lewis, work in progress.

neutral. He 'embarked in a ship, raised sails to the wind, voyaged by sea towards Wales, and arrived at the harbour of Abermenai';[18] 'voyaged to Wexford in Ireland';[19] 'returned to [Anglesey] cleaving the deep seas with thirty ships';[20] 'assembled a royal fleet from Waterford [. . .] and after spreading sails at sea, with the wind favourable behind them, and the sea tranquil, came to Porthclais';[21] 'embarked in a ship with the intention of going to Ireland';[22] 'got into a skiff of the canons of Aberdaron and rowed in it as far as Ireland';[23] 'voyaged with sixty ships and came to Anglesey'.[24] The descriptions are mostly mundane, with just a few vivid incidental details about vessels, harbours, and even the weather, in a manner which suggests their ultimate origin in tales of Gruffudd's adventures told at the time. If so, the storytellers were not framing the episodes to indicate the return or departure of an exile. Nor was the idea of exile introduced when the episodes were shaped in writing as the Latin *Life*. However perilous and last-minute the escapes from Wales to Ireland, however calculated the returns to Anglesey in pursuit of power, all the crossings which he undertook were simple journeys. The opportunity was never taken to say that Gruffudd was leaving into enforced exile or returning from it.

The neutrality of description is the more remarkable because the author of the Latin *Life* makes it perfectly clear that Gwynedd was where Gruffudd belonged, his 'own land', 'paternal inheritance', and 'ancestral territory',[25] which he ought to rule 'by hereditary right',[26] and of whose people the author asserted that 'certainly it was right for him to rule over them'.[27] Such a vocabulary of rightful inheritance was chosen with care. Words for exile were avoided with just as much deliberation.

The sense of particular connection with Gwynedd is one which may have come, at least in part, from Gruffudd himself, though the motives imputed to him by the author of the *Life*, and the invented speeches put in his mouth, are worthless as evidence. More telling is Gruffudd's bequest of Abermenai to his widow Angharad, mother of the legitimate sons who were to rule Gwynedd after his time. Abermenai was perhaps the kingdom's best harbour in 1137, but surely more significant to Gruffudd as he turned his thoughts to his imminent death and to his legacy in its widest sense was its symbolic role as the place of his first landfall in his own land.

[18] *MPW*, p. 59; *HGK*, p. 6; *HGC*, pp. 112–13.

[19] *MPW*, p. 63; *HGK*, p. 11; *HGC*, pp. 120–21.

[20] *MPW*, p. 64; *HGK*, p. 12; *HGC*, pp. 122–23.

[21] *MPW*, p. 66; *HGK*, p. 13; *HGC*, pp. 124–25.

[22] *MPW*, p. 71; *HGK*, p. 18; *HGC*, pp. 134–35.

[23] *MPW*, p. 72; *HGK*, p. 19; *HGC*, pp. 134–35.

[24] *MPW*, p. 72; *HGK*, p. 19; *HGC*, pp. 136–37.

[25] *VGC*, §§ 15/2 (*patria sola*), 9/2, 10/5, 18/20 (*paterna hereditas*), 10/6 (*avitae ditiones*).

[26] *VGC*, § 12/5 (*haereditario iure*).

[27] *VGC*, § 10/5 (*siquidem ad illum iure spectabat in illos dominari*) (translation Dr Russell's).

Gruffudd, as well as his biographer, thought from the beginning that he belonged to Gwynedd, and Gwynedd to him.

Linked closely with the *Life*'s emphasis on the rightfulness of Gruffudd's rule in Gwynedd is its representation of those who wrongly ruled the kingdom in his place. A concern with the usurping kings who lorded it over north Wales throughout Gruffudd's earlier years is embedded in the structure of the *Life*. After the opening sections on Gruffudd's ancestry, and a prophecy of Merlin, the biography proper begins with an account of his youth in Ireland:

> When Gruffudd was just a lad [. . .] his mother used to tell him every day who and what kind of man his father was, what patrimony belonged to him, what kind of kingdom, and what kind of oppressors were inhabiting it. [. . .] He [. . .] travelled to the court of King Murchad and complained to him chiefly, but also to the other kings of Ireland, that a foreign people were lords over his paternal kingdom, and [. . .] besought them to help him seek his patrimony.[28]

Patrimony and its wrongful occupation are paired ideas, here and throughout the *Life*. Gruffudd's rightful rule is set off against unjust domination by others, and his proper connection with Gwynedd is used to counter their extraneity. The Welsh princes from other districts who held power in Gruffudd's Gwynedd, Trahaearn ap Caradog of Arwystli and Cynwrig ap Rhiwallon of Powys, are disparaged just as much as the alien Normans as belonging to 'a foreign people'.[29] They are 'his enemies who ruled unjustly in his territory, as if imported from other places',[30] and by defeating them Gruffudd had freed 'oppressed Gwynedd from unlawful and heathen lords'.[31]

The otherness of Gwynedd's oppressors is a constant refrain, one reinforced by the conceptual cement into which the author of the *Life* set his account of Gruffudd's career, notably through comparison with other rulers from history. The examples deployed show how the author wished Gruffudd's achievements to be understood. In the parallels on which he insists between Gruffudd and heroes of antiquity, whether insular (Arthur), classical (Agamemnon, Caesar, Alexander), or biblical (David, Ezechias, Joshua), there is a particular emphasis on biblical examples whenever rightful patrimony and wrongful foreign oppression are to the fore. The freeing of Gwynedd from Trahaearn seems to the author like Judas Maccabeus's defence of Israel 'from the domination of gentile kings'.[32] Gruffudd's guerrilla tactics, wandering Gwynedd as a fugitive in the time of oppression by Earl Hugh, remind him of David's operations in Judaea in the time of King Saul.[33] Once securely established in his kingdom,

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[28] *MPW*, p. 58; *HGK*, p. 6; *HGC*, pp. 110–13.

[29] *VGC*, § 9/2 (*gens extranea*).

[30] *VGC*, § 10/5 (*adversos eos qui in eius possessiones iniuste dominarentur, ex aliis locis quasi adventitios*).

[31] *VGC*, § 12/8 (*Venedotiam ab iniquis et paganis dominis oppressam*).

[32] *VGC*, § 12/8 (*a dominatione regum infidelium*).

[33] *MPW*, p. 71; *HGK*, p. 19; *HGC*, pp. 134–35.

Gruffudd's prosperous rule brings to mind the people of Israel after their return from the Babylonian captivity.[34]

The analogues thought appropriate for Gruffudd's activities merit some consideration. What the people of Judah (not, strictly, Israel) underwent in Babylon, according to the Vulgate, was captivity (*captivitas*), not exile;[35] captivity, not exile, was the word used in the *Life*. King David, and centuries later the Maccabees, were engaged in lawful insurrection against their oppressors, but they were not exiles, and the *Life* did not call them such. The entire Vulgate, indeed, used the words *exilium* and *exul* only once and twice respectively, and only in narrowly judicial contexts.[36] The lack of a clear vocabulary of exile in the Vulgate may have made it hard for an author drawn most powerfully to Old Testament exemplars to conceive of Gruffudd's experiences outside Gwynedd as constituting something which could be called *exilium* and make him an *exul*. On the other hand, perhaps the biographer hit on those parallels precisely because they did not carry any idea of exile. Gruffudd's career was to be shaped as the story of a triumphant recovery of lost patrimony from occupation and oppression by foreign peoples, but without making explicit any idea of exile. Why?

There are three sorts of possible explanation. One, to be rejected here, lies in the Irish-Scandinavian background of Gruffudd's family connections and early life in Dublin. It may be that the author of the *Life* wished to depict Gruffudd as equally at home among the men of Gwynedd (his father's people) and the men of Dublin (his mother's). One hesitant pointer in that direction is the way in which the *Life* began with lengthy pedigrees, tracing Gruffudd's descent on his mother's side from King Harald Fairhair of Norway and Brian Boru, and on his father's side, rather more engagingly, from Old King Cole and Jupiter. In short, he may not have thought of Gruffudd in Dublin as an exile at all, but rather as being at home among his own people. What tells against that as an explanation, however, is the insistence throughout the *Life* that Gwynedd was Gruffudd's rightful inheritance, a stance which had to begin with the demonstration through genealogy that Gruffudd enjoyed royal status. Because his Welsh father had not been a king (though his Welsh paternal grandfather had), Gruffudd's regality derived at least as much from his mother's Irish ancestors as from his father's Welsh ones.[37] Hence we should not rely on Gruffudd's family connections with Viking Ireland as a sufficient reason why the *Life* avoids the idea of exile. Once the genealogies have been set out, the *Life* has little to say about

[34] *MPW*, p. 80; *HGK*, p. 28; *HGC*, pp. 150–51.

[35] For example, II Kings 24. 14.

[36] *Novae Concordantiae Bibliorum Sacrorum iuxta Vulgatam Versionem Critice Editam*, ed. by Boniface Fischer (Stuttgart: Frommann-Holzboog, 1977), cols 1891, 1914; I Ezra 7. 26; Numbers 35. 26; 35. 32.

[37] T. M. Charles-Edwards, *Early Irish and Welsh Kinship* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 220–24; David E. Thornton, 'The Genealogy of Gruffudd ap Cynan', in *Gruffudd: Collaborative Biography*, ed. by Maund, pp. 79–108.

Ireland, and nothing which claims or implies that Gruffudd was going home when he sailed westwards from Wales.

A second way of explaining the absence of exile from the *Life* would attempt to root it in a Welsh context by a fuller consideration than is possible here of how exile was treated in native legal and narrative texts of the central Middle Ages. It is striking, for example, that the Latin texts of the laws seem to use the word *exul* in two differing senses: in provisions about banishment as a legal punishment, but also as the equivalent of the Welsh *alltud*, 'an alien, a foreigner'. In their present form the Latin redactions date from the mid-thirteenth century or later, but it is conceivable that they contain layered within them a usage of the word *exul* which developed over time away from the meanings implied by *alltud* and towards the more normative European idea of 'exile'.[38] *Alltud* (plural *alltudion*) was generally used for a Welshman living outside the territory of his birth. Thus, for example, the law made provision for inheritance by the children of a local woman (*mulier indigena*) who married an alien (*exul*) and for the heriot payable on the death of an alien (*exul*) who had been given land by the king.[39] Given the prominence which the *Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan* accords to the otherness of Gwynedd's illegitimate rulers it is perhaps at first sight surprising that the author did not employ the word *exul* with that meaning of outsider. In reality the failure to do so makes perfect sense, since the *alltud* of the laws, for all his alterity, was a protected person, an outsider brought within the laws by the king's special favour. Trahaearn of Arwystli and Cynwrig of Powys, Gwynedd's oppressors, were emphatically not *alltudion*.

A third approach to the absence of exile from the vocabulary of the *Life* and the conceptual world of its author is perhaps more promising, if not as a definitive solution to the problems posed here, then as a springboard for thinking about the presentation of exile in texts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries more generally. It involves matters of authorship, audience, genre, and sources.

The connections between a particular author's use of the idea and the vocabulary of exile and his own personal circumstances are too obvious to require much elaboration. They can be well illustrated by the case of Orderic Vitalis, who was completing his *Ecclesiastical History* in the last years of Gruffudd ap Cynan's life. It is surely no coincidence that a man who portrayed himself torn as a child from his mother's arms

[38] *The Latin Texts of the Welsh Laws*, ed. by H. D. Emanuel, Board of Celtic Studies, University of Wales, History and Law Series, 22 (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1967), pp. 154–55, 216, 258, 451, 458, 460, 504; *The Law of Hywel Dda: Law Texts from Medieval Wales*, trans. and ed. by D. Jenkins (Llandysul: Gomer Press, 1986), pp. 71, 104, 113, 151, 157–59; Paul Russell, 'The Laws of Court from Latin B', in *The Welsh King and his Court*, ed. by T. M. Charles-Edwards, M. E. Owen, and P. Russell (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000), pp. 478–526 (pp. 478–80), and earlier work cited there. I am pleased to acknowledge Dr Russell's advice on the dating of the manuscripts and on references in the laws to *exul* and *exilium*.

[39] *Latin Texts*, ed. by Emanuel, pp. 135, 147.

and his homeland and carried away to a lifetime in a foreign land should produce a narrative strongly laced with exile. Orderic used the word *exilium* thirty-four times, *exul* thirty-two, and the verb *exulo* forty-two, besides two instances of *exulatio*.[40] Orderic in fact thought of himself in exactly those terms. In the passage describing how his father sent him away from Shropshire as a child oblate to the distant Norman monastery of St-Évroult, he specifically referred to himself as 'sent away into exile' (*exilium*) and as coming into Normandy 'as an exile' (*exul*).[41] Orderic compared his own experience to that of Abraham, sent by God to a strange land, away from his country and his kindred and his father's house, but the text of Genesis which he quoted did not include either of the words *exilium* or *exul*.[42] Orderic's choice of terminology, and the conceptual framework which supported it, derived rather from his understanding of his own situation and from implied parallels with the many other individuals whom he called exiles elsewhere in the *Ecclesiastical History*. Orderic's indiscriminate use of words for exile to describe almost anyone driven from his homeland for whatever reason was extreme for a twelfth-century Anglo-Norman author,[43] but the other essays published in this collection show how deeply a broad and multifarious conception of exile had permeated the minds and verbal habits of twelfth-century authors who lived and worked in England and Normandy.

With that in mind, it is significant that the *Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan* stood apart from the main body of western European narrative texts where the idea of exile was well nourished and thriving. The need to confront the character and status of the *Life* with questions about authorship, audience, and genre is, however, beset by difficulties. None of the three is at all clear in the present state of research, and it is not certain that the reconstruction of the earliest Latin text offers much help.

There are strong grounds for thinking that the *Life* was first put together as a written text quite soon after Gruffudd's death in 1137, by someone not personally acquainted with him, with some knowledge of Gwynedd but also a cosmopolitan European background, very likely a cleric but also with at least a passing acquaintance with the new secular classical learning. One possibility is that the author was in the circle of Bishop David of Bangor,[44] though Paul Russell's new edition of the earliest Latin *Life* tentatively suggests instead a connection with St David's in south-west Wales.[45]

The authorship of the Latin *Life*, however, is not the end of the matter. Within its dead shell it is possible to detect a living organism, a collection of oral histories springing from different points in Gruffudd's career: descent-lines of his ancestors, tales about the adventures of his earlier years before he ruled Gwynedd, mysterious

[40] Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*.

[41] Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, VI, 552, 554.

[42] Genesis 12. 1 (*egredere de terra tua, et de cognatione tua, et de domo patris tui*).

[43] See also the essay by Ewan Johnson in this volume.

[44] C. P. Lewis, work in progress.

[45] Personal communication, August 2003.

prophecies about his future greatness, and other scraps. The pieces of potentially oral origin are woven into the fabric of the main narrative, which itself seems to have a structure borrowed from storytelling rather than literary composition. The narrative as a whole is repetitive and cyclical. It covers four main periods of action which can be located in time between 1075 and *c.* 1100, each narrated at roughly equal length, with a much shorter end-piece devoted to the last thirty-odd years of the King's life. Each of the first two tells of an expedition by Gruffudd which met first with success, then with betrayal and failure. Sandwiched between them is an additional and very brief episode on the same theme. The second period ends with Gruffudd incarcerated at Chester and the Normans occupying Gwynedd. In the third and fourth periods history again repeats itself and a tale is told once, then told again with a twist. Freed from gaol, Gruffudd eventually drove the Normans out and repulsed an expedition led by William Rufus, only to be betrayed and forced into flight. Again he fought off the Normans, and again he defeated a Norman king, but this time forged an alliance with him which secured his rule in Gwynedd.

The orality of both structure and episodes points to the difficulty of assigning 'an author' to much of the content of the *Life*, as opposed to what was added when it first took written form and to the shaping of the written form of the earliest Latin version. The pedigrees, for example, as well as some of the incidental minor stories attached to persons named within them, were presumably passed down within Gruffudd's family, part of the native Welsh tradition of preserving exceptionally long patrilineal descents in both memory and writing.[46] The adventure stories from Gruffudd's early years are likely to have originated with men who had been among his companions, since they included incidental details which have the pungent whiff of authenticity and the names of persons who even by, say, 1140 must have long faded into obscurity. A good example is the release of Gruffudd from shackles in Chester, 'in the afternoon, when the burgesses were eating', by the otherwise unknown Cynwrig Hir, a young man of the nearby commote of Edeirnion.[47]

A helpful if inexact analogy for the relationship of the written superstructure of the *Life* to its oral foundations, though perhaps not to be used as lightly as here, comes from elsewhere in Europe. The Icelandic kings' sagas were created as literary texts from materials of ultimately oral provenance, whether fragments of skaldic verse or prose stories and anecdotes. The mature sagas of the thirteenth century are of a wholly more sophisticated construction as literary artefacts than the *Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan*, but a reading of, say, *King Harald's Saga* is a similar experience in some ways to a reading of the *Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan*, not least because of a few curious parallels with aspects of the *Life* which have been discussed here.[48] Harald,

[46] *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts*, ed. by P. C. Bartrum (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1966).

[47] *MPW*, pp. 70–71; *HGK*, p. 18; *HGC*, pp. 132–33.

[48] Carol J. Clover, *The Medieval Saga* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1982).

notably, is a fugitive and a wanderer outside the kingdom which was his 'proper inheritance', and let down by treachery, but never an exile.[49] Perhaps there are deeper connections. The sharing of story material between one particular Welsh tale and the Icelandic sagas has recently prompted a persuasive argument for cultural interaction between Scandinavian and Welsh storytelling traditions in this period.[50] The skilled hands of a literary historian might make something of the idea that just as the Welsh *Historia Gruffud vab Kenan* grew out of the Latin *Vita Griffini filii Conani*, so lurking behind the latter is a shadowy oral prototype of a *King Gruffudd Cynansson's Saga*.

Secondly, audience. The audience for the oral stories of Gruffudd's early maturity needs to be considered separately from the audience for the posthumous written *Life*. The stories were presumably shaped to be told in Gruffudd's hall in later life as ruler of Gwynedd, in the hearing of his former companions in arms (or perhaps their sons), the men who had stayed loyal to him and had together won back the principality of Gwynedd from its foreign oppressors. The written book, however, makes no sense as a product of the princely court of Gwynedd in the years after 1137. Indeed it might well have been dangerous to circulate the text there for, besides a certain amount of the expected flannel about Gruffudd and other notables, the *Life* also adverts to the outright treachery of various north Walian families, to the prominent role of the Norman king of the English in establishing Gruffudd's rule, and in a single breath to Gruffudd's concubines and bastards as well as his wife and sons, the sons who were ruling Gwynedd when the text was written.[51] The audience for the *Life*, in short, remains something of a mystery.

In terms of genre, the *Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan* stands unique as a biography of a Welsh prince, with few parallels as a mid-twelfth-century *Life* of any European ruler, none of which is cast in anything like the same form. Given the good evidence for the author's wider cultural connections beyond Wales, it really needs contextualization on a European canvas. It might also stand detailed comparison with contemporary *Lives* of Welsh saints. But strictly speaking the Latin *Life* is unparalleled. Certain of its oral elements, however, are readily identifiable with types of oral production known to have existed in twelfth-century Wales. Genealogies are the most obvious, and need no further discussion here. Saga-like biographical stories about kings are another. Quite apart from the question whether sagas in the strict Scandinavian sense were composed in eleventh- and early twelfth-century north Wales, there was clearly a strong and continuing tradition of Welsh heroic storytelling throughout the twelfth century. A few of what were presumably a large and diverse group of

[49] *King Harald's Saga: Harald Hardradi of Norway, from Snorri Sturluson's Heimskringla*, trans. by M. Magnusson and H. Pálsson (London: Penguin, 1966), esp. chs 1, 19, 22, 29.

[50] Alaric Hall, 'Gwŷr y gogledd? Some Icelandic Analogues to *Branwen ferch Lŷr*', *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*, 42 (winter 2001), 27–50.

[51] *MPW*, pp. 62–63 (treachery), 74 (concubines and bastards), 79 (Henry I); *HGK*, pp. 10, 22, 28; *HGC*, pp. 118–19, 140–41, 150–51.

oral narratives about the deeds and battles of contemporary kings were written down and preserved in texts as diverse as the Welsh Annals, Gerald of Wales's *Itinerary*, and Walter Map's agreeable guide to English court gossip. They may well have informed other types of oral and literary production in Wales, including the miracle stories incorporated into Latin hagiographical works, and the Welsh-language praise poetry. Other such stories, I would argue, formed the basis of the narrative element in the *Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan*.[52]

Although, as shown here, neither the *Life* nor its oral sources ever presented Gruffudd ap Cynan as an exile, the earliest Latin text is not entirely innocent of the term. Once, but only once, it uses the standard word for exile, *exilium*. It comes when narrating an episode which took place on Anglesey in 1098, after a complicated three-way encounter between Gruffudd, the Normans of Chester and Shrewsbury, and King Magnus Barefoot of Norway. Certain members of Gruffudd's warband had betrayed their leader to the Normans and were awaiting their reward from Earl Hugh of Chester. Instead he double-crossed them, forcing them to return empty-handed to their base in Ireland, where the king 'submitted them to the harshest punishments, some were put to death, some had their limbs cut off, some he forced into perpetual exile (*in exilium perpetuum*), driving them from his entire kingdom'.[53] Exile is here a specific punishment imposed by a king on men who were subject to his authority, analogous in its severity to mutilation and death. If such a meaning of *exilium* was the author's normal frame of reference for the word, it is easier to understand his reluctance to use it in relation to Gruffudd. From the ideological standpoint of the *Life* Gruffudd was never the subject of a ruler of Gwynedd, since he was himself always the legitimate and proper king. Although circumstances could force him to leave his paternal inheritance, it only happened through the illegitimate power of alien rulers. Simply put, no one in Gwynedd had the legal authority to send Gruffudd into exile, only the illegitimate power to deprive him (temporarily) of what was rightly his.

All this may help to explain why the *Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan* lacks both the vocabulary of exile found so widely in narratives written in the heartlands of Francophone Europe at the same period. Elsewhere Gruffudd's experiences might well have been conceptualized and verbalized as exile. The main sources for the *Life*, however, were types of oral production alien to the European literary traditions in which exile was so firmly rooted. The mental horizons of the *Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan* confined the idea of exile within a narrow definition of royal banishment. They lead to the conclusion that the 'exile' of prominent political figures in the central Middle Ages was not only (and perhaps not primarily) something which befell kings expelled from their kingdoms, men fallen foul of their lords, and as a result of judgements of banishment reached in law courts, but something which happened when writers of narrative texts put quill to parchment.

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[52] C. P. Lewis, work in progress.

[53] *VGC*, § 29/6.

Like Joseph in Egypt? Exile Experiences of Royal Women

MIRIAM SHERGOLD

When Goscelin of St Bertin (d. after 1107) wrote his *Liber confortatorius* for his friend, the young recluse Eve of Wilton, he dwelt on the sacrifice of long-standing ties with the world that was the earthly cost of her spiritual vocation. To illustrate his point, he likened the experience of a bride of Christ to that of a princess sent to marry a foreign monarch. Both found themselves isolated from the people and places they used to cherish, thus sharing the experience of exile.[1]

The aim of this essay is to throw more light on royal women's experience of uprooting and banishment. It will explore the following question: in what ways did the experience of transition on their betrothal or marriage, and their role as consorts, influence their ability to cope with exile situations in later life? I shall argue that a queen's loss of position through banishment brought to bear her unique experience and abilities. Through consortship, royal women were already prepared for many aspects of exile, and they learned to appreciate its potential. In order to illustrate this dynamic, I will trace royal women's exposure to unfamiliar contexts throughout life and then compare the challenges they met within a husband's realm to those outside its borders.

Some royal women experienced exile from an early age because their parents were expelled from their territory. The loss suffered by their families influenced their careers, and no doubt their self-perception, too. However, a childhood in exile did not preclude a careful preparation for a high-ranking position in the future. Saint Margaret (d. 1093), queen of Scotland, grew up in Hungary, where her father,

[1] Goscelin of St Bertin, 'The *Liber confortatorius* of Goscelin of St Bertin', ed. by C. H. Talbot, *Studia Anselmiana*, 37 (1955), 1–117 (p. 41): 'Filie regum et principum [. . .] nubunt in exteras nationes. [. . .] Quanto magis anima Christum tota mente ac perpetua caritate debet obliuisci populum suum et domum patris sui, ut concupiscat rex decorem'; P. Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in Eleventh-Century England* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), p. 214.

Edward the Exile, had found refuge after fleeing England in 1016. These early years were sheltered in comparison to later experiences in her ancestral England, which included her father's premature death, the Norman conquest, and the family's flight to Scotland.[2] Despite this turmoil, Lanfranc, in his correspondence with Saint Margaret, reminded her that she was not only of royal blood, but had also been 'brought up as befits a queen'.[3] Saint Margaret's great-great-granddaughter Matilda of Saxony (d. 1209) repeated the experience of being raised in exile. She came to the Plantagenet realm with her family after her father, Henry the Lion, had been evicted from his domains in 1181. It was a natural port of call as the Duke's wife, Matilda of England (d. 1189), was the daughter of King Henry II. Four years later the family returned to Brunswick, but the young Matilda stayed behind in England and was later given away in marriage by her grandparents.[4] The marriage of exiled Piast princess Rica (also called Ryksa or Riquilda) to Alfonso VII of Castile in 1152 was similarly arranged by her uncle and protector, Conrad III, and his son Frederick Barbarossa. Following the expulsion of Rica's father, Ladislaus II, from Krakow and Silesia in 1145, Conrad III, half-brother of Rica's mother, Agnes of Austria (d. *c*. 1160), established the family in his castle at Altenburg in Saxony. Six years later, the teenage Rica was moved on from this makeshift home to embrace a new identity as Castilian consort.[5]

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[2] V. Wall, 'Queen Margaret of Scotland (1070–1093): Burying the Past, Enshrining the Future', in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, ed. by A. J. Duggan (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1997), pp. 27–38 (pp. 29–30); F. Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, Yale English Monarchs, 2nd edn (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 215–18; N. Hooper, 'Edgar the Atheling: Anglo-Saxon Prince, Rebel and Crusader', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 14 (1985), 197–214 (p. 202).

[3] *The Letters of Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. and trans. by H. Clover and M. Gibson, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), no. 50, p. 160; *HN*, p. 121; M. Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda: Queen Consort, Queen Mother and Lady of the English* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), p. 11; L. L. Huneycutt, 'The Idea of the Perfect Princess: The Life of St Margaret in the Reign of Matilda II, 1100–1118', *ANS*, 12 (1989), 81–97 (p. 94 and n. 67).

[4] Benedict of Peterborough, *The Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II and Richard I*, ed. by W. Stubbs, RS, 49, I, 313–14, 322, 346.

[5] Ladislaus II was the eldest son of King Boleslaus III the Wrymouth of Poland, who divided his realm among his sons. Frederick I of Staufen, Conrad III's father, had been the first husband of Agnes of Austria's mother. For the expulsion, see the account by Rica's uncle, the chronicler Otto of Freising, *Gesta Frederici seu rectius Cronica: Die Taten Friedrichs oder richtiger Cronica*, ed. by F.-J. Schmale, trans. into German by A. Schmidt, Ausgewählte Quellen, 17 (Darmstadt: Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 1965), p. 398: 'ad Conradum Romani imperii tunc principem perfuga profecto et clementer recepto [. . .] ducisque exilium usque ad obitum regis duravit.' See also M. Dembinska, 'A Polish Princess – Empress of Spain and Countess of Provence in the 12th Century', in *Frauen in Spätantike und Mittelalter: Lebensbedingungen – Lebensnormen – Lebensformen*, ed. by W. Affeldt (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1990), pp. 283–90 (pp. 284–86).

If childhood acquaintance with exile was the exception rather than the rule for royal daughters, the uprooting associated with betrothal and marriage was universal. When Pope Innocent IV (d. 1195) looked back on the life of Saint Margaret, he described how the princess had been transplanted to Scotland: 'Torn from your homeland, you embrace another. You became Queen and Mother, the glory of the Scots.'[6] The homeland which Innocent referred to was not the England of her royal ancestors: it was Hungary, the country of her mother Agnes, the place of refuge for her wandering father, and the site of her childhood. Innocent's celebration of Margaret's achievements acknowledged the difficulties experienced by those who left one dynastic and cultural context for another. Innocent was not the only one to evoke similarities between this sort of transition and the experience of exile. As we have seen, Goscelin of St Bertin likened the situation of a princess at a foreign court to that of an exile. Orderic Vitalis used the same language when recalling his own shock at being sent to a foreign country as a child oblate: 'And so, as a boy of ten, I [. . .] came into Normandy as an exile, unknown to all, knowing no one. Like Joseph in Egypt, I heard a language which I did not understand.'[7] Of course there were significant differences between the departure of a diplomatic bride and exile in the conventional sense. To mention but a few contrasts, exile was an undesirable turn of events, but a bride's leaving from home was planned from the time of her birth; an exile could hope to return home, but diplomatic marriages were supposed to last a lifetime; exiles lost their property, but the bride was endowed; and while exiles were adrift, the bride was assigned a new position.

If exile was a punishment, and a royal marriage was an honour, this difference was not always clear-cut from the perspective of the dynastic pawns involved. No matter how splendid the proposed match, separation from the familiar environment of the parental territory was a frightening prospect. This perception is borne out by several examples of young women who energetically opposed such plans. In 1160, Constance, granddaughter of Conan III of Brittany, appealed to Louis VII of France to put a stop to the planned marriage between her and King Malcolm IV of Scotland and instead arrange a marriage closer to home. Her appeal was successful, and several years later she married a lower-ranking Breton official.[8] According to a, probably legendary, story told by Ekkehard IV of St Gall (d. 1056), the Bavarian princess Hedwig (d. 994) devised her own, unaided strategy to avoid a dreaded

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[6] Innocent IV's canonization oration for Saint Margaret, trans. in A. J. Wilson, *St Margaret Queen of Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1993), p. 101.

[7] Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, VI, 552: 'Decennis itaque Britannicum mare transfretaui, exul in Normanniam veni, cunctis ignotus nemini cognoui. Linguam ut Ioseph in Aegipto quam non noueram audiui.'

[8] 'Epistolarum regis Ludovici VII et variorum ad eum volumen', *RHF*, XVI (1878), 23; *The Acts of Malcolm IV King of Scots 1153–1165*, ed. by G. W. S. Barrow, Regesta regum Scottorum, 1 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1960), p. 13; E. van Houts, *Memory and Gender in Medieval Europe 900–1200* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), p. 84.

distant marriage. While being portrayed for her future husband, a Byzantine prince, she pulled faces and contorted her body, and thus prompted him to call off the match.[9] There was no such happy resolution of the dread of a life with a stranger in a faraway country which, according to Orderic, was felt by William the Conqueror's daughter Agatha at the prospect of being sent away to Spain. According to this account,

> [The girl] was terrified of the husband whom she had never seen. So she besought the Almighty with tears that he would rather take her to himself than suffer her to be led away to Spain. She prayed and was heard; on the way she died a virgin.[10]

Agatha's despair reflects that which, according to Gregory of Tours, was earlier felt by the attendants chosen to escort the Frankish princess Rigunth (d. after 585) on her way to her fiancé, Reccared of Spain. In their distress at forcible exile, we read, some 'hanged themselves, dreading to be carried from those near and dear to them', others made their wills, and many escaped in the course of the journey.[11] Walter Map found a metaphor for the forlornness of the dispatched princess when relating the tale of a fictional daughter of the King of France who was left behind on an unknown seashore: her ship, bound for the country of her prospective husband, had been driven to land by a gale, her retinue had accidentally travelled on without her, and she came to depend on a stranger who took her into his house.[12]

The cultural, personal, and political clashes that dogged the careers of foreign consorts and their followers were a persistent and recognized problem. According to Ralph of Diceto, the experiences of the Empress Matilda (d. 1167), who had been betrothed to Henry V of the Holy Roman Empire at the age of eight, had a fortifying influence on her granddaughters in this respect. Her example gave them strength to face the challenges of life in their own husband's countries, Saxony, Spain, and Sicily, so different from England, Ralph pointed out, in their tastes and customs.[13] For some brides, the shock of transition was cushioned by the company of attendants from home. Whereas the high-ranking officials who headed the retinue returned after

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[9] Ekkehard IV, *Casus Sancti Galli: Sankt Galler Klostergeschichten*, ed. and trans. into German by H. F. Haefele, Ausgewählte Quellen, 10 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1980), ch. 90, p. 184: 'sed cum, imaginem virginis, pictor eunuchus, domino mittendam uti simillime depingeret, sollicite eam inspiceret, ipsa nuptias exosa os divaricabat et oculos, sicque Greco pervicaciter repudiato, literis post latinis Purchart illam dux dotatam duxit.'

[10] Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, III, 114–15.

[11] Gregory of Tours, 'Historia Francorum', ed. by W. Arndt and Br. Krusch, MGH SRM, 1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1884), book VI, ch. 45, p. 284; P. Stafford, *Queens, Concubines and Dowagers: The King's Wife in the Early Middle Ages* (London: Batsford, 1983), p. 58.

[12] Walter Map, *De nugis curialium: Courtiers' Trifles*, ed. and trans. by M. R. James, rev. by C. N. L. Brooke and R. A. B. Mynors, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), p. 346.

[13] Ralph of Diceto, II, 17–18.

the ceremonies, other followers were intended to stay at the new court. However, this influx was not universally popular with the hosts. Emperor Henry V, Philip II Augustus of France, and Emperor Frederick II all lost no time in dismissing their young wives' attendants.[14] While they may have been reluctant to provide for the new courtiers, it is highly probable that they also favoured the idea of completely immersing their partners in their new environment.

Regarding a queen's success in making herself at home in her new environment, the introduction of new courtiers, fashions, and habits was a double-edged sword. The innovations brought by her enriched her new court and at the same time preserved some elements of continuity with her previous home. The impact of this influence was all the more significant as the new fashions were often eagerly seized upon by the courtiers. After her arrival in Scotland, Saint Margaret promoted new textiles and ornaments which, her biographer enthused, transformed her subjects into a whole 'new kind of beings'.[15] However, if Margaret was an unmixed blessing in the eyes of her biographer, innovations could equally emphasize the consort's isolation as a cultural and dynastic outsider, and thus attract criticism and hostility. For example, Siegfried of Gorze claimed that the 'immodest' tight-fitting clothes sported by the retinue of Agnes of Poitou (d. 1077), and eagerly copied by the Germans, threatened the very honour of the Empire.[16] Many years later, Agnes's enemies were still confident that the most effective way to denigrate her was to refer to her 'sex, nature, and native country'.[17] Going beyond this kind of earthly and contemporary criticism, Thangmar (d. 1003x27) reported a vision of the Empress Theophano (d. 991), the Byzantine wife of Otto II, mourning the vanities that she had introduced

[14] Frederick II and Isabella of England: Matthew Paris, *Chronica maiora*, ed. by H. R. Luard, RS, 57, III, 324–25: 'Remissis igitur in Angliam fere universis utriusque sexus hominibus, quos curia imperatricis in patria sua educaverat.' Henry V and Empress Matilda: Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, IV, 166–68; Philip II Augustus (Ingeborg): 'Ex Chronico Turonensi', *RHF*, XVIII (1879), 290–322 (p. 293): 'Tandem, quibuslibet ad sua remeantibus, Regina remansit sola, solius camerarii confortata.'

[15] *De Sancta Margarita Scotiae Regina*, ed. by D. Papebroch, *AASS* (Antwerp, 1698), 10 June, II, 328–35 (p. 330). The *Life* of Margaret is attributed to her confessor, Turgot.

[16] The letter is edited in W. Giesebrecht, *Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, 4 vols, 5th edn (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1881–95), II (1885), 714–18 (p. 718). Siegfried opposed the marriage of Agnes and Henry on the grounds of consanguinity; see H. Thomas, 'Zur Kritik an der Ehe Heinrichs III. mit Agnes von Poitou', in *Festschrift Helmut Beumann zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by K.-U. Jäschke and R. Wenskus (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1977), pp. 224–35 (pp. 224–25). Thomas points out that Siegfried himself probably was a native romance language speaker.

[17] Letter by Meginhard of Bamberg, *Registrum oder merkwürdige Urkunden für die deutsche Geschichte*, ed. by H. Sudendorf, 3 vols (Jena: F. Fromann, 1849–54), II (1851), no. 11, pp. 13–14: 'Quid hoc? Est utrinque etas suspecta, hinc etiam sexus? Neque solum sexus, sed etiam natura, neque natura tantum, sed etiam patria sua.'

to Germany and France. Peter Damian, on the other hand, was certain that another Byzantine princess, Maria Argyropoulina (d. 1007), wife of John Orseolo, had earned the wrath of God by eating with a fork at the court of her in-laws in Venice.[18]

If fashions could merge, language barriers were powerful reminders of uprooting. Contemporary autobiographical writing about exile experiences reflected the trying nature of this aspect. As we have already seen, Orderic remembered how, 'like Joseph in Egypt', he heard a language which he could not understand when he arrived in Normandy as a boy.[19] Whereas Orderic eventually settled in, Peter of Blois (d. 1211/12) was keen to be released from his duties in England, lamenting his suffering in twenty years of 'exile' among people whose language he did not speak. To make his appeal truly heart-rending, he pleaded at least to be buried in French soil.[20]

Peter of Blois was in a position to ignore the local language, voice his discontent, and hope to be sent back to France. By contrast, it was only through severe crises that queens consort could expect to return to live in their ancestral territory. The acquisition of the new country's language was of critical importance in their task to embrace a new sense of belonging, and indeed to function in their appointed role. Hedwig of Swabia was taught Greek by Byzantine teachers sent to Germany to prepare her for her intended marriage. The same strategy had earlier been adopted in the context of the planned Byzantine marriage of Charlemagne's daughter Rotrud

[18] Theophano: Thangmar, 'Vita beati Bernwardi episcopi et confessoris', ed. by G. H. Pertz, MGH SS, 4 (Hannover: Hahn, 1841), pp. 754–82 (addendum, p. 888): 'superflua et luxuriosa mulierum ornamenta quibus Grecia uti solet'; see J. Herrin, 'Theophanu: Considerations on the Education of a Byzantine Princess', in *The Empress Theophano: Byzantium and the West at the Turn of the First Millennium*, ed. by A. Davids (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 64–85 (p. 84). Maria Agyropoulina: Peter Damian, 'Institutio monialis ad Blancam ex comitissa sanctimonialem', PL, 145, cols 731–50 (col. 744). See J. J. Norwich, *A History of Venice* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1983), p. 30; A. Davids, 'Marriage Negotiations between Byzantium and the West and the Name of Theophano in Byzantium (Eighth to Tenth Centuries)', in *The Empress Theophano*, ed. by Davids, pp. 99–120 (pp. 110–11); F. F. Vannier, *Familles byzantines: Les Argyroi (IX^e – XII^e siècles)* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1975), pp. 43–44. The newly married Maria and John, eldest son of the Doge of Venice Peter II Orseolo, had lived in Constantinople until the birth of their son, Basil; in 1007, parents and son died of an epidemic.

[19] Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, VI, 552–55: 'Linguam ut Ioseph in Aegipto quam non noueram audiui'; Goscelin of St Bertin, '*Liber confortatorius*', p. 41; Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith*, p. 214.

[20] Peter of Blois to Odo de Sully, bishop of Paris [1196x97], *The Later Letters of Peter of Blois*, ed. by E. Revell, Auctores britannici medii aevi, 13 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), no. 80, pp. 337–38: 'Viginti sex annis in Anglia peregrinans, linguam, quam non noveram, audivi. Heu michi, quia incolatus meus prolongatus est tanto tempore, et non est qui compatiatur exuli. [. . .] Cui non licet in patria vivere, saltem liceat sepeliri.' On Peter of Blois's career and writing, see A. Sapir Abulafia, 'Twelfth-Century Christian Expectations of Jewish Conversion: A Case Study of Peter of Blois', *Aschkenas*, 8 (1998), 45–70 (pp. 52–54).

(d. 810).[21] In the four-year interval between the arrival of the future Empress Matilda in the Empire at the age of eight and her marriage to Henry V in 1114, Henry had her carefully tutored in the language and customs of her new realm.[22] However, some marriage alliances were quickly negotiated, and in-depth advance preparation was the ideal rather than the norm. When Pope Innocent III reprimanded Philip Augustus for casting off his wife, the Danish princess Ingeborg (d. 1236), on the morrow of their wedding, he highlighted her precarious position as a princess abandoned in a foreign land whose language she did not speak. Ingeborg, he pointed out, had 'left behind her brothers and sisters' to cling to him in marriage, only to find herself cast off, friendless, and convicted without as much as understanding the charges levied against her.[23]

The surviving letters of Ingeborg's twenty-year struggle for recognition illustrate that the queen and her supporters were no less skilled in using exile imagery to vindicate her and exercise moral pressure on her husband. By likening her existence to banishment, they contrasted her innocence with harsh judicial punishment. Ingeborg called herself a *proscripta*, a Roman law term for outlaw or exile.[24] When writing to Archbishop William of Reims, her ally Stephen of Tournai reported her bitter exclamation, 'my friends and relations like strangers have abandoned me'. Stephen rhetorically asked what the queenship had brought her, except poverty and exile.[25] The foreign queen's legal isolation was also addressed in a literary context. When Béroul's Queen Isolt, an Irish princess married to the King of Cornwall, is charged

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[21] Hedwig: Ekkehard IV, *Casus sancti Galli*, ch. 90, p. 184; R. McKitterick, 'Ottonian Intellectual Culture in the Tenth Century and the Role of Theophano', *Early Medieval Europe*, 2 (1993), 53–74 (pp. 63–67). Rotrud: *Theophanis Chronographia*, ed. by C. de Boor, 2 vols (Leipzig: Teubner, 1883–85), I (1883), 455; *Die Gedichte des Paulus Diaconus*, ed. by K. Neff, Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters, 3.4 (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1908), pp. 58, 67–68. Einhard, 'Vita Karoli', in *Quellen zur karolingischen Reichsgeschichte*, ed. by R. Rau, trans. into German by R. Rau, O. Abel, and J. von Jasmund, Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters, 5–7, 3 vols (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1956–60), I (1956), ch. 19, p. 190.

[22] *GND*, II, 218; Benoît de Sainte-More, *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*, ed. by C. Fahlin, 4 vols (Uppsala: Almquist & Wiskell, 1951–79), II (1954), 604.

[23] Innocent III to Philip Augustus [9 December 1203], *Die Register Innocenz' III. 6. Pontifikatsjahr, 1203/1204*, ed. by O. Hageneder, J. C. Moore, and A. Sommerlechner (Vienna: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1995), no. 180 (182), p. 299: 'Reliquerat siquidem fratres et sorores, ut tibi matrimonialiter adhereret.'

[24] Ingeborg to Celestine III [1196], 'Coelestini III pontificis romani epistolae et privilegia ordine chronologico digesta', PL, 206, col. 1278: 'Unde nisi vestra misericordia mihi misereri dignetur, morti succumbam in proximo temporali.'

[25] Stephen of Tournai to William of Reims, *Lettres d'Etienne de Tournai*, ed. by J. Desilve (Valenciennes: Lemaître, 1893), no. 213, pp. 263–65: 'Amici mei et proximi mei, quasi alieni, recesserunt a me; unicum refugium meum dominus meus Remensis archiepiscopus, qui me ab initio adversitatis mee liberaliter fovit, aluit et nutrivit.'

with adultery, she exclaims to her husband: 'I have no one to defend me except yourself [. . .]. King, I have no one of my family in this country of yours, ready to make war or rebel because of the distress I am in.'[26] Isolt solicits the King's mercy by evoking the royal protection due to a vulnerable stranger. Dietrich of Apolda used the theme of wifely exile to powerful hagiographical effect when relating the tribulations of another royal daughter, Saint Elizabeth (d. 1231), daughter of Andrew of Hungary. Sent to the court of her fiancé, Louis of Thuringia, at the age of four in 1211, the princess met with the bitter hostility of her future mother-in-law, Sophia, who tried to have the girl sent back to her parents in disgrace. The tender Elizabeth, however, bore her machinations with fortitude. As an 'exile from her native country and this world', she turned to the Lord for comfort.[27] There is reason to believe that Dietrich of Apolda put undue emphasis on Sophia's desire to exclude the girl from the family. The Psalter that the Countess appears to have commissioned for her young daughter-in-law tells a different story: decorated with portraits of shared relatives that linked Elizabeth's natal and marital dynasties, it offered the girl help in anchoring herself in her new context.

Ingeborg's resistance, Isolt's plea for mercy, and Elizabeth's forbearance all show that only consorts with substantial territorial possessions of their own could leave the exile of a diplomatic marriage without risking all that constituted their status. This understanding is spelled out in Richard le Poitevin's lament of the imprisonment of Eleanor of Aquitaine (d. 1204). Comparing the constraints of her 'exile' in England to the freedom and comforts that she had enjoyed in Aquitaine, he urged the queen to come home:

> You have been taken away from your own country and carried away to a strange land [. . .]. Reared with abundance of all delights, you had a taste for luxury and refinement and enjoyed royal liberty. You lived richly in your own inheritance [. . .]. You abounded in riches of every kind [. . .]. Why consume yourself with sorrow, why ravage your heart with tears every day? Return, O captive, return to your own lands if you can. If you cannot, share in the lament of the King of Jerusalem: 'Alas, my exile has been a long one! I have lived with a crude, ignorant people.'[28]

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[26] Béroul, *The Romance of Tristan by Béroul*, ed. and trans. by S. Gregory, Faux titre, 57 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1992), lines 3212, 3239–42: 'Fors vos, ge n'ai nule defense [. . .]. Rois, n'ai an cest païs parent / Qui por le mien destraignement / En feïst gerre ne revel'; K. Pratt, 'The Image of the Queen in Old French Literature', in *Queens and Queenship*, ed. by Duggan, pp. 225–62 (p. 244). The thought is repeated by the knight Perinis at King Arthur's court, lines 3426–27: 'There is no nobleman from her family / at the king's court, be he French or Saxon.'

[27] Dietrich of Apolda, *Die Vita der heiligen Elisabeth des Dietrich von Apolda*, ed. by M. Rener, Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Hessen, 53 (Marburg: N. G. Elwert, 1993), p. 30: 'Inter hec Elyzabeth, exul a domo patria et huius mundi peregrina, contemptui se haberi perpendens, medullitus ingemiscens confugit in dominum.'

[28] Richard le Poitevin, 'Ex Chronico Richardi Pictaviensis', *RHF*, XII (1877), 411–21 (p. 420): 'Idcirco translata es de terra sua, et deducta ad terram quam ignorasti [. . .]. Revertere

Eleanor, heiress of Aquitaine, first queen of France, then queen of England, was not the only high aristocratic woman to set up home in different contexts at different stages of her life. Constance of Aragon (d. 1222), first wife of Emperor Frederick II, had previously been Queen of Hungary. Empress Gisela (d. 1043) had children by two husbands when she married the future Emperor Conrad II. Like her, Queen Emma (d. 1052), who first came to England as the bride of Aethelred, did not change countries, but her second marriage to Cnut presented her with a new dynastic identity. It is tantalizing to wonder how the profound changes experienced in passing from one environment to another — from the home territory to the first husband's court, from the first husband's dynasty to the second husband's dynasty — shaped women's perception of themselves. On her marriage, a consort officially left her natal, or previous husband's, family to join that of her new husband. However, the reality was far more complex. Links of ancestry and children of previous marriages bound women to their former lives. The *Encomium Emmae reginae*, commissioned by Queen Emma, skilfully glossed over the problematic aspects of her two royal marriages and the resulting rival claims of her sons. If in the *Encomium*, Emma positioned herself firmly at the centre of her family and realm as a focal point of integration, this was an ideal world's solution to a smouldering conflict of identities, belonging, and loyalty.

In reality, Emma solved the dilemma by taking sides. Other women similarly learnt to take a pragmatic approach when a second or third marriage took them to a new dynasty, court, or country. For many, sudden changes of destination and belonging were already a formative experience in childhood years. Princesses were picked out as potential partners for rulers abroad, and in some cases preparation advanced as far as instruction in the new country's language before changing political considerations prompted a different marriage project. Saint Agnes of Bohemia (d. 1282), for example, was dispatched twice to the countries of prospective husbands only to be sent home again a couple of years later. After two more aborted projects, she refused further matches and took the veil in her home city of Prague. Changing or successive marriage projects and the importance of ancestry suggest that royal women had good reason never completely to detach themselves from their natal background. Their origins were a rare stable point of orientation among many variables: if, as Ovid famously wrote, 'every country was a native country for the strong', for the strong queen, one native country remained more important than others.[29]

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captiva, revertere ad civitates tuas, si potes; si vero non potes, plange cum Rege Hierosolymitano, et dic: "heu mihi! quia incolatus meus prolongatus est, habitavi cum gente ignota and inculta."'

[29] Ovid, *Fasti*, ed. and trans. by J. G. Frazer and G. P. Goold, Loeb Classical Library, 2nd edn (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), Book I, lines 493–94. The theme is developed by Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalicon: De studio legendi*, ed. by C. H. Buttimer, Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Latin (Washington: Catholic University Press, 1939), p. 69: 'delicatus ille est adhuc cui patria dulcis est; fortis autem iam, cui omne solum patria est; perfectus vero, cui mundus totus exsilium est.'

Consorts who had lived in their husband's country for many years no doubt started to identify with their position. Nevertheless, a queen who grew to love her husband's realm as her native soil was remarkable enough to make powerful propaganda. The author of the *Encomium Emmae reginae* wrote that when Queen Emma set sail for England at the end of her exile in Flanders, she was driven by 'the love of the homeland'.[30] It is, of course, possible that by then Emma's childhood memories of Normandy had indeed become hazy, although she had returned there during her first exile in 1013. For the purposes of the text, the reference to Emma's sense of belonging underlined that England was the rightful and natural place for her, the wife and mother of its legitimate kings. Conversely, the witness account of the life of Saint Elizabeth, based on the testimonies of her personal maids, illustrated the saint's withdrawal from worldly ties by underlining her complete lack of interest in her childhood home. As a young widow, deprived of her dower lands, we read, she turned away envoys sent by her father to take her back to Hungary, assuring them that she aspired to nothing more than 'poverty and exile' where she was.[31]

Emma and Elizabeth's examples show that even if marriage projects went as planned, the danger of banishment, in one form or another, loomed over royal and high aristocratic women throughout their lives. Emma fled twice, prompted by political turmoil; Elizabeth lost her home after the premature death of her husband. Other queens were expelled from their accustomed homes through their husband's deposition, temporary rebellions, marriage, remarriage, repudiation, or family disagreements. The changes of fortune connected with the career of consorts, as well as the shocks of uprooting and change that they experienced on their betrothal, thus made them exiles in experience, if not necessarily in name. This experience gave them a significant advantage over other individuals when they or their families were exiled from their territory. In fact, political exile presented them with a different set of conditions than those commonly associated with the predicament.

Consorts driven out of their husband's territory were not torn from the 'native soil' that mattered so much to Ovid and Hugh of St Victor. They had already left it behind at a young age. In fact, exile for consorts ironically was a rare opportunity to be reunited with the companions and sites of their early years. When a ruler was forced into exile, his wife's family was a natural port of call. During Swein's attack of England in 1013, the royal family found refuge at the court of Richard II of Normandy,

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[30] *Encomium Emmae reginae*, ed. and trans. by A. Campbell, supp. introduction by S. Keynes, Royal Historical Society Camden Classic Reprints, 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 50–52.

[31] *Der sogenannte Libellus de dictis quatuor ancillarum s. Elisabeth confectus*, ed. by A. Huyskens (Kempten: L. Kösel, 1911), p. 65: 'Accidit autem, ut rex Ungarie, pater ipsius beate Elysabeth, mitteret comitem nomine Paviam cum multo comitatu et revocaret ad terram suam filiam ipsius [. . .]. Et modis omnibus paupertatem affectans [desire] et exilium, non poterat induci, ut cum nuntiis patris ad terram nativitatis rediret.'

Queen Emma's brother.[32] The Salian princess Judith-Sophia (d. 1090x92) and her fiancé Solomon of Hungary also took shelter with Judith-Sophia's brother, Emperor Henry IV, when Solomon's father was deposed in 1060, only two years after the eleven-year-old bride's arrival in Hungary.[33] The couple was able to return to Hungary, but when ten years later, in 1074, new troubles arose, Queen Judith-Sophia again retreated to the Empire. From there, she tried to summon support for her husband by appealing to her brother the Emperor and to her mother's influence with Pope Gregory VII.[34] Although the Pope gave no help to Solomon, he praised the conduct of the Queen, a woman of illustrious descent who, at a tender age, had been sent to live in a 'wild and foreign country'.[35] When Henry the Lion was exiled from the Empire in 1181, we have seen, he and his family sought the protection of King Henry II, father of the Duke's wife, Matilda. In the Plantagenet realm, the family was not only able to live in state, but the careers of the children were looked after. Even though Eleanor of Aquitaine was closely guarded at the time, she was allowed to spend time with her daughter.[36] By the time of her exile, Duchess Matilda had not seen her parents for thirteen years. The level of support that she and the other women described received from their kin, after officially leaving them behind on their marriage, bears witness to ongoing feelings of solidarity beyond territorial and dynastic borders.

This solidarity also allowed women to seek refuge individually when forced or driven to leave their own court. When the dowager Queen Matilda (d. 968) fell out with her son, Emperor Otto I, she did not retire to her dower lands. Rather, her biographer emphasized, she left behind her rightful share in her late husband's lands

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[32] Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith*, p. 3.

[33] Judith-Sophia was born in 1047 and betrothed and handed over in 1058. For the events of 1060/61, see *Die Regesten des Kaiserreiches unter Heinrich IV. 1056 (1050)–1106*, vol. I, ed. by T. Struve, Regesta Imperii, 3.3 (Cologne: Böhlau, 1984), nos 201ff., pp. 81ff.; M. Black-Veldtrup, *Kaiserin Agnes (1043–1077): Quellenkritische Studien*, Münstersche historische Forschungen, 7 (Cologne: Böhlau, 1995), p. 13.

[34] 'Annales Altahenses majores', ed. by W. von Giesebrecht and E. L. B. von Oefele, MGH SRG, 4 (Hannover: Hahn, 1891), 2nd edn, pp. 56–57: 'Andreas [. . .] adsumens reginam, filium nurumque [. . .] in Bajoariam voluit exire, credens se in terra aliena tutiorem fore.' See G. Meyer von Knonau, *Jahrbücher des deutschen Reiches unter Heinrich IV. und Heinrich V.*, 7 vols (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1890–1909), I (1890), 193–95; Black-Veldtrup, *Kaiserin Agnes*, pp. 53, 297; and *One Thousand Years: A Concise History of Hungary*, ed. by P. Hanák, trans. by Z. Béres and C. Sullivan (Budapest: Corvina, 1988), p. 22.

[35] Gregory VII to Judith-Sophia [1092x96], *Das Register Gregors VII.*, ed. by E. Caspar, MGH Epistolae, 2, 2 vols, 3rd edn (Berlin: Weidmann, 1967), II, no. 44, pp. 180–82. For the second exile, see Lampert of Hersfeld, *Lamperti Annales: Annalen*, ed. by O. Holder-Egger and W. D. Fritz, trans. into German by A. Schmidt, Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters, 13, 3rd edn (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1985), an. 1076, p. 265.

[36] Walter Map, *De nugis curialium*, p. 488; *Pipe Roll 30 Henry II*, PRS, 33 (London: St Catherine Press, 1912), p. 134.

and headed for her father's dominions.[37] A generation later, in 978, Matilda's daughter-in-law, the Empress Adelaide (d. 999), quarrelled with her son, Otto II, over the fate of King Lothar of France, husband of Emma, Adelaide's daughter by her first marriage.[38] 'Kindly and honourably' welcomed by her brother, King Conrad of Burgundy, she could wait in style for a rapprochement. As her biographer wrote in his portrait of an ideal royal woman's exile, her departure saddened Germany, but the whole of her native Burgundy rejoiced.[39]

In the absence of caring relatives, possession of land allowed for a dignified existence abroad, as we have already seen from Richard le Poitevin's appeal to Eleanor of Aquitaine to return to the comforts of her own duchy. When Richenza of Lorraine (d. 1063), widow of Miesko II of Poland, was driven out of the country, she returned to Germany to administer lands inherited from her mother and became an important monastic patron.[40] Adela of Meissen (d. 1211), the repudiated wife of King Otakar I of Bohemia, was likewise able to live with dignity in her ancestral territory.[41] Due to her multiple loyalties, a consort could thus find herself in the paradoxical position of being an exile and at home on either side of her husband's borders.

Significantly, high-ranking women who were not able to draw on family support, or retreat to lands of their own, were also portrayed as apt handlers of uprooting. Donizo's *Life* of Matilda of Tuscany (d. 1115) celebrated her castle of Canossa as the place of refuge of the resourceful Adelaide, widow of King Lothar of Italy before her marriage to Otto I. In Matilda's time, it sheltered another fugitive queen, Eupraxia-Praxedis-Adelaide of Kiev (d. 1109), the estranged wife of Henry IV.[42] A

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[37] 'Vita Mathildis reginae antiquior', in *Die Lebensbeschreibungen der Königin Mathilde*, ed. by B. Schütte, MGH SRG, 66 (Hannover: Hahn, 1994), pp. 109–42 (ch. 5, p. 123).

[38] G. Wolf, 'Theophanu und Adelheid', in *Kaiserin Theophanu: Prinzessin aus der Ferne – des Westreichs große Kaiserin*, ed. by G. Wolf (Cologne: Böhlau, 1991), pp. 79–96 (p. 84).

[39] Odilo of Cluny, 'Epitaphium domine Adelheidis auguste: Die Lebensbeschreibung der Kaiserin Adelheid', ed. by H. Paulhart, in *Festschrift zur Jahrtausendfeier der Kaiserkrönung Ottos des Großen*, Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Ergänzungsband 20.2, 2 vols (Graz: Böhlau, 1962–63), II (1962), ch. 5, pp. 33–34: 'ubi a fratre, rege scilicet Conrado et nobilissima Mathilde eius coniuge benigne et honorabiliter est suscepta. Tristabatur de absentia eius Germania, letabatur in adventu eius tota Burgundia.'

[40] A. Fößel, *Die Königin im mittelalterlichen Reich: Herrschaftsausübung, Herrschaftsrechte, Handlungsspielräume*, Mittelalter-Forschungen, 4 (Stuttgart: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2000), pp. 294–95; U. Lewald, 'Die Ezzonen: Das Schicksal eines rheinischen Fürstengeschlechts', *Rheinische Vierteljahresblätter*, 43 (1979), 120–68 (pp. 145–49); J. Rotondo-McCord, '*Locum sepulturae meae ... elegi*: Property, Graves, and Sacral Power in Eleventh-Century Germany', *Viator*, 26 (1995), 77–106 (pp. 96–103).

[41] J. V. Polc, *Agnes von Böhmen 1211–1282: Königstochter, Äbtissin, Heilige*, Lebensbilder zur Geschichte der böhmischen Länder, 6 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1989), p. 15.

[42] Donizo, 'Vita Mathildis', in *Carmine scripta a Donizone Presbytero*, ed. by L. Simeoni, Rerum italicarum scriptores, 5.2 (Bologna: N. Zanichelli, 1930–40), pp. 1–110, lines 279–

fictional princess finding herself protection and a temporary home features in the early thirteenth-century romance *Wolfdietrich*. The hero of the tale disguises himself as a young woman to gain access to the court of the princess he loves. He presents himself to the king as an exile in need of protection:

> I am an unhappy maiden from Constantinople [. . .] driven into exile by my brother. [. . .] He wanted to force me into an unequal marriage, with an infidel who lives in a heathen land. I have come in hope that your gallant king will harbour me until my brother's anger abates.[43]

The hero's strategy is well chosen, for the king's advisor recommends: 'It will be to your own benefit, great king, and will also do you honour, for she is after all a princess. She has been told that you are a gallant man, so show her favour here.'

The pretended princess subsequently endears herself to king and court by producing outstandingly beautiful embroidery work. Starting out as a vulnerable dependant, she earns her keep and gains considerable influence in her adopted home. The displaced noblewoman managing to support herself in times of hardship is a recurrent motif in twelfth- and thirteenth-century romances. Several heroines, like the disguised protagonist in *Wolfdietrich*, gain income and admiration through their needlework; others secure a living as nurses and musicians.[44] A non-fictional queen whose economic independence in exile is emphasized is Queen Emma. After her arrival in

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429; J. M. Ferrante, *To the Glory of her Sex: Women's Role in the Composition of Medieval Texts* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), p. 83.

[43] *Ortnit and Wolfdietrich: Two Medieval Romances*, trans. by J. W. Thomas (Columbia: Camden House, 1986), pp. 42–97 (pp. 45–46). *Wolfdietrich* 'B', on which this translation is based, is believed to have been composed about 1250, based on a longer version that existed as least as early as 1225; see p. xvii of the edition.

[44] Further examples of highborn heroines supporting themselves by sewing in times of crisis in twelfth- and thirteenth-century romances are Aélis in Jean Renart, *L'Escoufle: Roman d'aventure. Nouvelle édition d'après le manuscrit 6565 de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal* [1190x1210], ed. by F. Sweetser, Textes littéraires français, 211 (Geneva: Droz, 1974), lines 2060–67; Berte in *La Chanson de Girart de Roussillon,* ed. and trans. into modern French by M. de Combarieu du Grès and G. Gouiran, Lettres gothiques (Paris: Librairie générale française, 1993), lines 7625–33, 7709–12; and Flourenche in *Florence de Rome: Chanson d'aventure du premier quart du XIII^e siècle* [1200–15], ed. by A. Wallensköld, Société des anciens textes français, 55, 2 vols (Paris: Firmin – Didot, 1907–09), lines 2967–71. Berte in Adenet le Roi, *Berte as grans piés* [1272–74], ed. by A. Henry, Textes littéraires français, 305 (Geneva: Droz, 1982), lines 1389–92, works as a servant; the exiled Duchess Parise serves as wet-nurse: *Parise la Duchesse: Chanson de geste du XIII^e siècle* [1200–50], ed. by M. Plouzeau, 2 vols, Sénéfiance, 17–18 (Aix-en-Provence: Publications du CUERMA, Université de Provence, 1986), line 2582. Silence in Heldris of Cornwall, *Silence: A Thirteenth-Century French Romance* [c. 1212], ed. and trans. by S. Roche-Mahdi, Medieval Texts and Studies, 10 (East Lansing, MI: Colleagues Press, 1992), lines 2863–68, 3138–45, makes an income from being a travelling musician.

Bruges, the *Encomium* stresses, she lived largely off her own dower income and showed herself a generous patron and alms-giver. The author's account describes a perfect exile: not only does Emma leave England due to the noble insight that 'it is unfitting to die for the ambition for worldly rule', she is also financially and emotionally anchored in a host country whose rulers welcome her and whose citizens adopt her with fervour. The emphasis on Emma's ability to maintain herself and her followers evokes a central quality of the good queen as the wise manager of resources in the court household.[45] A queen's awareness of how important finances were to survival in exile is furthermore reflected in Orderic's account of the sums which Matilda I of England (d. 1083) secretly sent to her rebel son Robert Curthose in France. Confronted by her enraged husband, Matilda pointed out the overriding rights of motherly love: 'How do you imagine that I can find any joy in possessing great wealth if I allow my son to be burdened by dire poverty?'[46]

The economic astuteness of Emma, Matilda, and the literary princesses are characteristic of a phenomenon regarding queens in exile. For most individuals, exile equalled disempowerment. In queens, by contrast, it brought out unique abilities and turned into an advantage the otherness and dual loyalties that had previously attracted hostility in their in-law circle. Through their marriages, queens knew what it was to be thrown into new and strange environments. They commanded cross-cultural perspectives and, in many cases, different languages. As representatives of foreign dynasties, they were the living links with a protective family network abroad. As heads of the household, they knew to manage resources. As intercessors, they were skilled in appeals and negotiation. The idea of royal women as resourceful handlers of exile, sustaining their families and safeguarding their children's futures, as we have seen, has an interesting parallel in the literary heroines who are able to see themselves through times of hardship as disguised needlewomen, servants, and wet-nurses. As aristocrats, these women were never intended to earn their keep by sewing and embroidering, running a household, or nursing children. However, when crisis reduces them to their own resources, they employ the skills they have gained to protect themselves single-handedly from exposure and deprivation. Significantly, the ability to adapt to the loss of means and status enhances rather than threatens their innate nobility. By contrast, male protagonists thrown out of their knightly context tend to rely on the support of others.[47]

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[45] *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, ed. and trans. by Campbell, p. 37; P. Stafford, 'The Portrayal of Royal Women in England, Mid-Tenth to Mid-Twelfth Centuries', in *Medieval Queenship*, ed. by J. C. Parsons (New York: St Martin's Press, 1993), pp. 143–67 (p. 164); Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith*, p. 37.

[46] Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, II, 102–05. As pointed out by Marjorie Chibnall, Orderic had access to information on the conflict because he lived at the abbey of St-Évroult at the same time as the Breton monk Samson who had been used by Matilda I to plead Robert Curthose's case with William the Conqueror (Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, III, 104–05).

[47] J. Weiss, 'The Power and the Weakness of Women in Anglo-Norman Romance', in *Women and Literature in Britain, 1150–1500*, ed. by C. M. Meale (Cambridge: Cambridge

A keen sense of origin, cultural transfer, conflicting loyalties, and latent risks enabled royal women and their friends to draw attention to their personal merit. Readers of the *Encomium Emmae reginae* may have felt a surge of sympathy when reading of the exiled Norman-born Emma's return to England as her true homeland. Emma lived in Flanders for only a couple of months, but, according to the Encomiast, its people wept at losing her beneficial presence, just as Germany, we read, was disconsolate at the departure of Adelaide, who had been its empress of many years. Different though their situations were, both women had started as incomers but were shown to have made themselves indispensable through their worth, wisdom, and generosity.

Reflections on the nature of exile, these examples show, were of interest for any royal woman. The acknowledgement of its trials provided psychological preparation and comfort, as Goscelin's lines on exile comforted the young nun Eve. The possibility of expulsion was a reminder of the value of the family network she brought into her marriage. If her life as consort was a success, her origins as a foreign princess could be emphasized to offset her achievements. If she was rejected, she could summon support and compassion by describing herself as an exile stranded in a hostile, faraway place. Although a royal woman's first and foremost interest was to portray herself as the credible and loyal complement of her husband, it made sense for her to keep in mind that this symbiosis was only achieved through her own brave transition. It was a displacement for a noble purpose, reminiscent of that of a pilgrim or crusader, who shared the name of *peregrinus*, the person from foreign parts.

In the sixth century, Bishop Praetextatus of Rouen taunted his enemy Queen Fredegund (d. 596/97) that while he would remain a bishop even in exile, a queen depended on a reigning husband or son for her position.[48] What I hope to have shown in this essay is that when it came to exile, sons and husbands often depended on their queens to maintain royal dignity and recover their position. Exile was a daunting prospect for anyone in high medieval society; but queens were experts in coping with its challenges, and realizing its potential.

University Press, 1993), pp. 7–23 (p. 13); cf. Gaimar, *Estoire des Engleis* or *Lai d'Haveloc*, *Yvain*, *La Manekine*, *Berte as grans piés*, Béroul's *Tristan*; *Parise la Duchesse*, ed. by Plouzeau, line 2582. S. Kay, 'Motherhood: The Case of the Epic Family Romance', in *Shifts and Transpositions in Medieval Narrative: A Festschrift for Dr Elspeth Kennedy*, ed. by K. Pratt (Cambridge: Brewer, 1994), pp. 23–36 (n. 13), dates the work to around 1200.

[48] Stafford, *Queens, Concubines and Dowagers*, p. 175.

Marriage and Excommunication: The Comital House of Flanders*

LAURA NAPRAN

Excommunication is a particular form of exile, a separation from the community of the faithful. While it does not require persons to flee a geographic area, it is a type of spiritual and social exclusion from their church and from interaction with members of their community. Excommunication causes persons to be cut off from the sacraments of the Church, including the taking of Holy Communion and the Last Rites. Moreover, with the exception of their immediate family, contact with these persons was forbidden to avoid spreading the contagion of sin. If a person should die as an excommunicate, he or she might suffer the ultimate exile of exclusion from eternal life, having died without repentance or absolution. From a more pragmatic point of view, a sentence of excommunication could adversely affect secular matters such as succession to a principality or the relationships between suzerains and tenants. In theory, the sentence relieved tenants from oaths of loyalty to their lords, or even the necessity for obedience of any type.[1] Pollock and Maitland have referred to excommunication as a sort of 'ecclesiastical outlawry'.[2] Bracton, author of a seminal thirteenth-century work on English law, likens the excommunicate to someone who has leprosy of the soul.[3]

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[1] E. Vodola, *Excommunication in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), p. 22.

[2] F. Pollock and F. W. Maitland, *The History of English Law before the Time of Edward I*, 2nd edn, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1898; repr. 1968), I, 478.

[3] *Bracton de legibus et consuetudinibus Angliae / Bracton on the Laws and Customs of England*, ed. by G. E. Woodbine, trans. and rev. by S. E. Thorne, 4 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977), IV, 325: 'separatus a communione gentium propter lepram

The Christian practice of excommunication was based on biblical precedents concerning the use of exile as a form of punishment. The book of Ezra contains a narrative about the Hebrews who, when they returned from the Babylonian captivity, were punished for having intermarried with the foreign women of Babylon. Any of them who did not obey the summons to Jerusalem, and the subsequent command to separate from these wives, were banished from the community and forfeited their property.[4] In the New Testament, Jesus instructs his disciples to admonish sinners first privately, then with witnesses, and finally through the Church. If the sinner is unrepentant, he becomes 'as a Gentile and a tax collector', that is, excluded from the community.[5] Saint Paul specifies the sort of sin which is punished by exile, saying that a man who lives with his father's wife should be removed from the believers' midst.[6] The Bible also relates instances of exile for more secular matters, although one must be mindful that royal and spiritual power were closely bound together during the biblical era.[7] From a modern perspective, it is interesting to note that the religious practice of excommunication as social exclusion is still practised among the Amish in North America. In keeping with the teachings of Menno Simons and Anabaptist practice, those who openly practice sin, cause divisions, or live against accepted doctrine are shunned, in order to preserve the purity of the community and to encourage the offender to repent.[8]

However, the focus of this essay is not theological, but rather excommunication associated with marriage in respect to noble families in the North of France in the twelfth century. The use of this method of ecclesiastical censure was not so common during this period as it would become in the later Middle Ages, and therefore case studies provide valuable evidence of its effects.[9] There has been considerable scholarship on canon law and the theology of excommunication, and on excommunication associated with marriage litigation in ecclesiastical courts.[10] This essay focuses,

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quae est in anima, ut si fuerit specialiter excommunicatus, quia sicut quis lepram poterit habere in corpore, ita et in anima'.

[4] Ezra 10. 7–11.

[5] Matthew 18. 15–17.

[6] I Corinthians 5. 1–2.

[7] For example, Ezra 7. 26.

[8] *The Complete Writings of Menno Simons*, ed. by J. C. Wenger, trans. by L. Verduin (Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1956), p. 94; J. A. Hostetler, *Amish Society*, 4th edn (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), p. 85.

[9] By the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, excommunication for such secular matters as debt was not uncommon: J. Chiffoleau, *Les Justices du pape: Délinquance et criminalité dans la région d'Avignon au XIV^e siècle* (Paris: Sorbonne, 1984), pp. 265–66; R. Collier, 'Excommunications à Moustiers-Sainte-Marie (Basses-Alpes) au début du XV^e siècle', *Bulletin philologique et historique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*, 1962, 565–79 (pp. 578–79).

[10] R. Helmholz, 'Excommunication as a Legal Sanction: The Attitudes of the Medieval Canonists', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, 68 (1982), 202–18; R. Hill,

instead, on the practical results of excommunication, in particular, on two specific cases of members of the comital house of Flanders and their spouses. I address the issues of whether the sentence of excommunication succeeded in changing the offensive behaviour of the excommunicates in respect to their marriages, and whether it effectively created a social and political exile for those concerned. In both instances examined here, specifically the cases of two siblings of Count Philip of Flanders, Laureta and Matthew, it is significant that the ecclesiastical censure failed to achieve its primary goal of correction in respect to the problematic marriages. Moreover, the effect of the excommunication did not prevent members of the laity, as well as certain ecclesiastics, from associating with those under sentence. It is also interesting to note that the issue of women as nuns was an important factor in both cases. In the first example, a woman becomes a nun because of excommunication, while in the second, a woman is excommunicated for being an apostate nun.

Sometime in the 1150s, Laureta, half-sister of the future Count Philip of Flanders, married Count Henry the Blind of Namur. This marriage was Laureta's fourth, so she was no stranger to marital life. For reasons unknown to us, the union was not successful as, after some years of childless marriage, Laureta fled from her husband in 1163.[11] Count Henry the Blind complained to Pope Alexander III, hoping that ecclesiastical coercion would compel Laureta to return to the marriage. As abandonment of matrimony was grounds for intervention by the Church and for application of censure, the Bishop of Cambrai attempted to bring a sentence of excommunication against her.[12] Nonetheless, Laureta was determined to escape both this sentence and her husband, continually moving from place to place in a self-imposed exile in order to avoid being apprehended. If they were not able to catch her, they could not deliver the sentence of excommunication.[13] We know that she ranged fairly widely in her flight, as both the Bishop of Cambrai and the Archbishop of Reims were involved in the attempt to find her.

'The Theory and Practice of Excommunication in Medieval England', *History*, 42 (1957), 1–11; Vodola, *Excommunication in the Middle Ages*; F. D. Logan, *Excommunication and the Secular Arm in Medieval England* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1968); J. A. Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), p. 504.

[11] Gilbert of Mons, p. 70; L. Vanderkindere, *La Formation territoriale des principautés Belges au Moyen Âge*, 2nd edn, 2 vols (Brussels: Éditions Culture et Civilisations, 1902; repr. 1981), I, 308; F. Rousseau, *Henri l'Aveugle: Comte de Namur et de Luxembourg 1136–1196*, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, 27 (Liège: University of Liège, 1921), p. 67.

[12] Alexander III, *Opera omnia*, PL, 200, col. 207, no. 144.

[13] B. A. Paulac, 'Excommunication and Territorial Politics in High Medieval Trier', *Church History*, 60.1 (1991), 20–36 (p. 23), notes that a person had to receive written notice before a sentence of excommunication could be pronounced. Helmholz, 'Excommunication as a Legal Sanction', p. 206, notes that the excommunicate had the right to see a copy of the sentence.

It can be stated with some certainty that Laureta must have had assistance in her escape, as the idea of a lone noblewoman fleeing across several counties without places of refuge is improbable in the extreme. Laureta's situation may be compared with the well-known flight of another woman from her husband, that of Agnes of Bellême. It is known that Agnes received the aid of a chamberlain, was sheltered by Countess Adela of Blois, and eventually received refuge in her home county of Ponthieu.[14] However, the noteworthy point in the flight of Laureta of Flanders is that she received assistance in spite of the fact that she was under threat of excommunication. It appears that her abettors were not put off by the Church's view that associates of an excommunicate would also suffer contagion and would be liable to excommunication themselves.

Quite sensibly, she had travelled in the direction of her natal family, where she might expect to find support. Although we have no record of her route, we may suppose that she chose a path along which she could expect to find sympathetic allies. An examination of Laureta's family ties offers clues as to her probable course. It is most likely that she passed through the region of Alost, where she had a grown son, Thierry (d. 1165), by her first marriage to Iwan of Alost (d. 1149). Therefore, she could reasonably anticipate shelter and support from her son or friends in this region. The fact that the Bishop of Cambrai was involved in the matter indicates that she was headed towards the south of Flanders or possibly even the county of Vermandois. As her half-brother the future Count Philip of Flanders was married to Elisabeth, heiress of Vermandois, Laureta's flight to this area may have been a means of availing herself of family protection through her sister-in-law, without compromising her brother directly in the matter. Moreover, Laureta's third husband had been Count Raoul I of Vermandois (Elisabeth's father, d. 1152), so it may be that she still retained friends or associates in this region from the time of that marriage. Laureta's history of multiple marriages may have played to her advantage by providing her with a network of contacts.

One may also speculate that the Benedictine abbey of Messines, near Ypres, could have been a stopping place en route. This nunnery was very much favoured by the Flemish comital family, receiving frequent donations from Laureta's half-brother Count Philip of Flanders.[15] At a later date, one of Laureta's half-sisters, Gertrude,

[14] Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, IV, 300–01. Agnes, daughter of Guy, count of Ponthieu, wife of Robert of Bellême: 'Seuus maritus generosam coniugem non ut decuit propter dilectam sobolem honorauit, immo multis eam afflictionibus ut odibilem ancillam contristauit, quin etiam multo tempore in arce Belesmensi uelut latronem custodiae mancipauit. Tandeme auxiolio industriaque fidelis cubicularii erept a de carcere clanculo exiuit. et ad Hadalam Carnotensem comitissam confuit, et inde nunquam ad tirannum reditura in Pontiuum secessit.' I am grateful to Dr Leonie Hicks who brought this case to my attention.

[15] I. L. A. Diegerick, *Inventaire analytique et chronologique des chartes et documents appartenant aux archives de l'ancienne abbaye de Messines* (Bruges: Société d'Émulation de Bruges, 1876), p. xxv.

took the veil there after two unsuccessful marriages, demonstrating not only that this was an abbey favoured by the house of Flanders, but that it was sympathetic to providing succour to women who had experienced failed marriages. Count Philip endowed Gertrude and the abbey of Messines most generously because of her entrance to this establishment.[16] Moreover, it is particularly noteworthy that Laureta herself and her first husband, Iwan of Alost, had made a significant donation to this abbey.[17] Alix (also known as Adelaide), the abbess who had received this donation, was still in charge of the nunnery at the time when Laureta was fleeing excommunication. Thus, Laureta would have been known to her, perhaps even on a personal basis.[18] As the abbey's benefactor and sister of the Count of Flanders (another generous benefactor), it is not improbable that Laureta was temporarily sheltered at this abbey during her flight. This speculation is supported by a line in her own psalter which suggests that she had spent some time at the abbey of Messines, or at least that she had a close association with it.[19] If this were the case, it is significant that members of a religious community would have dared to ignore Laureta's threatened excommunication by providing her with aid. Apparently, they feared neither contamination from her offence nor the possibility of their own excommunication by association.

At any rate, the fact that she was successful in evading the bishops' censure means that she made use of a network of allies in order to frustrate the excommunication order. Although the Bishop of Cambrai had originally ordered excommunication, Pope Alexander III's letter to the Archbishop of Reims shows that the Pope was now willing to allow a compromise.[20] He instructed the Archbishop of Reims to arrange a meeting with Laureta to counsel her and to hear her side of the story. This substantial change in attitude reflects not only the difficulty in apprehending Laureta, but also the likelihood that her supporters were acting as her advocates to the bishops and Pope. It also cannot be discounted that her brother Philip of Flanders or his wife, Elisabeth of Vermandois, exerted themselves on her behalf. The Pope gave Laureta thirty days to present her case before the sentence of excommunication would be applied. This attitude is remarkably reasonable, in that the Pope is reversing his

[16] Gertrude was firstly married to Count Humbert III of Maurienne-Savoie, who repudiated her and then held her for some time as a captive. She was released through the intervention of Robert, provost of Aire. See Anonymous of Laon, *Chronico universali*, ed. by G. Waitz, MGH SS, 26 (Hannover: Hahn, 1882), pp. 442–57 (p. 448). Gertrude had a second marriage to Hugh III of Oisy, but they later separated and she entered the abbey of Messines. See Gilbert of Mons, p. 91; Vanderkindere, *La Formation*, I, 150, 311–12; Diegerick, *Inventaire analytique*, p. xxv.

[17] Diegerick, *Inventaire analytique*, p. 7, no. 7; p. 13, no. 17; pp. xxi–xxii, no. 17.

[18] Alix or Adelaide, abbess from 1141 to 1163. Diegerick, *Inventaire analytique*, p. xxii.

[19] S. Gregory, 'The Twelfth Century Psalter Commentary in French for Laurette d'Alsace', in *The Bible and Medieval Culture*, ed. by W. Lourdaux and D. Verhelst (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1979), pp. 109–26 (p. 122, n. 64): *Ne remanez ne a Forest ne a Meschines*.

[20] Alexander III, *Opera omnia*, col. 207, no. 144.

earlier position that she should receive summary excommunication for abandoning her husband. This situation suggests that Laureta had some powerful advocates indeed. We do not know what Laureta told the Archbishop of Reims when they did meet, but her explanation was sufficiently persuasive that he allowed her to divorce her husband. She took the veil at the convent of Forest near Brussels, where she apparently lived until her death.[21] The period of her threatened excommunication does not appear to have affected her reputation, as it in no way prevented her from assuming the religious habit.

The second case to be addressed is that of the marriage of Matthew, brother of Count Philip of Flanders, and Marie, abbess of Romsey, daughter of King Stephen of England and Queen Matilda and heiress to the county of Boulogne. Both Matthew and Marie were excommunicated because of their marriage, as Marie was a consecrated nun. This event has never been adequately examined in secondary literature and, therefore, it is worthwhile to take a close look at this marriage, and to re-evaluate the contemporary reaction to it. In 1160 (or possibly 1159) there was a succession crisis in the county of Boulogne when Count William, son of King Stephen and Matilda, died without an heir of his own body.[22] His closest relative was his sister Marie who, as noted above, was a professed nun and was, moreover, the Abbess of Romsey in Hampshire. Boulogne was a most valuable county, as it occupied a strategically advantageous position on the English Channel. The port of Wissant in Boulogne was the chief point of entry for the import of English wool for the textile trade in Flanders, while French wines and other goods being exported to England also passed through the ports of Boulogne. Moreover, the county of Boulogne held many lands in England.[23] Therefore, the succession to this county was of particular interest to King Henry II of England.

King Henry took control of the situation by removing the heiress Marie from the abbey of Romsey and giving her in marriage to Matthew of Flanders, along with the English lands which were included in the honour of Boulogne.[24] As suzerain of Boulonnais lands in England, he certainly had the right to grant these properties to whomsoever he chose. However, it is questionable whether King Henry's position entitled him either to interfere in the comital succession of the county of Boulogne

[21] *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique. IIe section. Série des cartulaires et des documents étendus. 1e Fascicule. Cartulaire d'Afflighem*, ed. by E. de Marneffe (Louvain-la-Neuve: L'Université de Louvain, 1894), pp. 218–20, no. 146 (confirmation by Duke Godfrey of Lotharingia of Laureta's donation to Forest when she entered the abbey); Gregory, 'The Twelfth Century Psalter Commentary', p. 122.

[22] Count William of Boulogne was also known as Earl William of Warenne, by right of his wife Isabel, heiress of Warenne.

[23] J. Gillingham, *The Angevin Empire*, 2nd edn (London: Arnold, 2001), p. 24.

[24] Henry II granted the English lands of the honour of Boulogne (including manors near London and Colchester) to Matthew, but retained the county of Mortain for himself, which had formerly been held by Count William of Boulogne: Gillingham, *The Angevin Empire*, p. 24.

itself, or to compel Marie to leave her religious life for marriage. In theory, Count Raoul II of Vermandois and Artois held suzerainty over Boulogne, but he was suffering from leprosy. Consequently, he may not have been in a position to enforce his right to deal with a questionable succession. It is true that King Henry had a familial relationship with Marie, in that he was her second cousin through their common ancestor William the Conqueror. While hardly a close relation, he was, nonetheless, one of her nearest male relatives. Her other male second cousins from the house of Champagne (Count Henry I of Champagne, Count Thibaut V of Blois, William, archbishop of Sens, later archbishop of Reims) apparently did not take an interest in the succession of Boulogne, although they may have been forestalled by King Henry II's decisive action in the matter. However, the deciding factor was that the heiress Marie was resident in his kingdom of England. Henry II effectively had bodily control over her, and therefore could force the issue of her marriage. His choice of Matthew of Flanders as husband for Marie was an attempt to retain a measure of control over Boulogne by awarding her to someone who, as the second son of Count Thierry of Flanders, had few inheritance prospects of his own. Thus, the English king hoped that Matthew might show gratitude for his arrangement of this excellent match, in which he would gain the comital title of Boulogne, along with control of the valuable Boulonnais properties on the continent and in England.[25]

Not surprisingly, this union caused an immediate scandal in ecclesiastical circles, as the marriage of nuns had been decried since at least the seventh century. Apostate nuns had been of special concern to ecclesiastics in the recent past, particularly in respect to post-conquest England, where women had fled to nunneries for protection from the Normans. Later, some of these women, including Matilda future wife of King Henry I, abandoned the nunneries for marriage, claiming that they had never taken religious vows.[26] However, Marie of Boulogne's position as a professed nun and abbess, and, therefore, as the consecrated bride of Christ, left no doubt as to the sacrilegious nature of the marriage.[27] Both Matthew of Flanders and Marie of

[25] Unfortunately for Henry II, Matthew proved less grateful than he might have hoped, for in 1167 Matthew threatened to invade England to regain certain Boulonnais lands in England which Henry II had taken. In 1173, Matthew joined his brother, Count Philip, along with the young King Henry of England and King Louis VII, in a war against Henry II. See Gervase of Canterbury, *Opera historica*, ed. by W. Stubbs, RS, 73, I, 203; William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum anglicarum*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, ed. by R. Howlett, RS, 82, I, 173; Benedict of Peterborough, *The Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II and Richard I*, ed. by W. Stubbs, RS, 49, I, 43–44, 49; Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, ed. by W. Stubbs, RS, 51, II, 46, 49; Ralph of Diceto, I, 373, 387.

[26] C. W. Hollister, *Henry I* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), p. 128.

[27] For nuns as brides of Christ, see C. Chavasse, *The Bride of Christ: An Inquiry into the Nuptial Element in Early Christianity* (London: Faber and Faber, 1940); R. Metz, *La Consécration des vierges dans l'Église romaine* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1954), pp. 117–18; M. Parisse, *Les Nonnes au Moyen Âge* (Le Puy: Christine Bonneton, 1983), p. 128;

Boulogne were excommunicated, and their land was placed under interdict. It is possible that their excommunication was incurred *ipso facto* or *latae sententiae*. In other words, the crime, that of the marriage of a nun, was universally considered to be so heinous as to result in automatic excommunication from the moment the offence was committed, without the need for a formal promulgation of sentence.[28] Lambert of Waterlos calls it 'an accursed wedding' and significantly says that Marie was *vulgabatur*, a strong word which suggests that she was made common, or possibly even that she was prostituted.[29] Herbert of Bosham, a cleric in the household of Thomas Becket, calls it 'profane matrimony'. He tells us that Thomas Becket detested Matthew of Flanders 'with complete hatred'.[30]

However, I suggest that the condemnation of this marriage was a matter which concerned mainly ecclesiastics and may have been a less important issue to lay people. While Robert of Torigny calls the incident 'an unheard of example', he ignores the fact that marriage to professed nuns was not without precedent in England before the conquest and in the generation following it.[31] Certainly the presence in nunneries of noblewomen with succession claims had resulted in abductions of nuns. Pauline Stafford has noted that, in pre-conquest England, nunneries were filled with the daughters of distinguished families and that pretenders casually carried off nuns as part of their quest for power.[32] Stafford also cites the hagiographer Goscelin of St Bertin who maintains that Edith, who was a consecrated nun and the sister of King Edward the Martyr, was offered the throne of England.[33] Had she accepted it, she would presumably have married in order to produce heirs and perpetuate the royal line. Although the veracity of this tale is suspect, the relevant point is the lack of

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K. Heene, *The Legacy of Paradise: Marriage, Motherhood and Woman in Carolingian Edifying Literature* (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 1997), pp. 113–15, 128–36.

[28] I am grateful to Dr Per Ingesman for a discussion on the *ipso facto* nature of certain excommunications. Vodola, *Excommunication in the Middle Ages*, pp. 28, 30, notes the use of automatic excommunication, for example, in the case of physical assault on clerics or heresy. See also N. M. Haring, 'Peter Cantor's View on Ecclesiastical Excommunication and its Practical Consequences', *Mediaeval Studies*, 11 (1949), 100–12 (p. 108); and Leonie Hicks's essay in this volume noting the automatic excommunication of apostate monks and nuns.

[29] Lambert of Waterlos, *Annales Cameracenses*, ed. by G. H. Pertz, MGH SS, 16 (Hannover: Hahn, 1859), p. 533.

[30] Herbert of Bosham, *Vita Sancti Thomae, archiepiscopi et martyris*, in *MTB*, III, 328; IV, 332.

[31] Robert of Torigny, *Chronica*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, ed. by Howlett, IV, 207.

[32] P. Stafford, 'Sons and Mothers: Family Politics in the Early Middle Ages', in *Medieval Women*, ed. by D. Baker (Oxford: Blackwell, 1978), pp. 79–100 (p. 97).

[33] P. Stafford, 'The Portrayal of Royal Women in England, Mid-Tenth to Mid-Twelfth Centuries', in *Medieval Queenship*, ed. by J. C. Parsons (New York: St Martin's Press, 1993), pp. 143–67 (pp. 154–55).

apparent revulsion among the laity at the thought of a nun marrying and assuming a secular title, when it was politically expedient for her to do so. The acceptance by the lay nobility of the marriage of Abbess Marie and Matthew of Flanders is supported by the chronicler Gilbert of Mons who was well acquainted with the affairs of the comital house of Flanders. He declares unequivocally that it was the men of Boulogne who decided to call Marie from her abbey in order to marry Matthew and to succeed to the county.[34] Whether or not the men of Boulogne were instrumental in drawing Marie out of the abbey, there is the important implication that Gilbert believes they would have had no compunction in asking a professed nun to marry for the good of their county.

The question remains as to what effect this excommunication had on Matthew and Marie, as Count and Countess of Boulogne, and whether it had political and social ramifications. It is noteworthy that Matthew and Marie appeared to have assumed control of the county of Boulogne with relative ease, experiencing no apparent objections from their tenants or from their immediate suzerain, the Count of Vermandois. It is true that Matthew's father, Count Thierry of Flanders, was said to have been angered at the marriage, and the chronicler Lambert of Waterlos states that Count Thierry even took up arms against his own son. However, there is no record of an actual armed conflict between them. Count Thierry's irritation seemed to stem primarily from the fact that his son Matthew had acted, according to Lambert, 'without consulting his father'.[35] This statement implies that Count Thierry may have had his own designs for the future of Boulogne and was annoyed that Matthew had taken the matter into his own hands. Count Thierry did withhold from his son the county of Lens, which the Counts of Boulogne had held from Flanders for some decades.[36] This was, presumably, a means of punishing his son for his precipitous action, as well as an easy way of augmenting the patrimony of the county of Flanders.

Most modern scholarship assumes that the excommunication of Matthew and Marie lasted a full ten years, until Marie returned to religious life in 1170. However, there is evidence which suggests otherwise. A year after the marriage, Matthew accompanied his father, Count Thierry, and his brother, Philip, to a meeting called by the Bishop of Cambrai.[37] In attendance were a number of noted ecclesiastics, including the Archbishop of Reims and the Bishops of Laon and Noyon. If Matthew had been excommunicate at that time, and therefore a social and spiritual outcast, he would not have been found in the company of such an august assemblage of bishops. Either the excommunication had already been lifted, or Matthew and his family went

[34] Gilbert of Mons, p. 90.

[35] Lambert of Waterlos, *Annales Cameracenses*, p. 533.

[36] J. Dhondt, 'Les Seigneuries du IX^e^ au XIII^e^ siècle', in *Histoire des territoires ayant formé le département du Pas-du-Calais* (Arras: Librairie Brunet, 1946), pp. 34–83 (p. 71).

[37] Lambert of Waterlos, *Annales Cameracenses*, p. 534.

to this council with the express purpose of having the sentence lifted by the ecclesiastics in attendance.

Moreover, two letters of Pope Alexander III, dated two years after the marriage, suggest that Matthew was no longer excommunicate at this time.[38] The letters concern the fact that Matthew had ejected two abbots and their monks from their abbeys and had replaced them with secular canons. Certainly, the Pope's letters are not in any way complimentary to Matthew in respect to the expulsion of the abbots, referring to the 'venom of his malice' and implying that this is just the sort of thing one would expect from a man who had married a nun. Nonetheless, one of the letters refers to Matthew as 'count', showing that the Pope had recognized his succession to the county of Boulogne. He would have been unlikely to proffer this acknowledgement if Matthew was still excommunicate for his marriage, as his title of Count depended on the recognition that he was legally married to Countess Marie. The first letter also specifies that Matthew and the canons had been excommunicated 'in respect to the expulsion of the abbots'. If Matthew had still been under excommunication for his marriage, it is difficult to understand how he could have received a second sentence concurrent with the first. Therefore, for a new sentence to be promulgated at this time, we may hazard that he was already free of the first sentence associated with his marriage.

If further proof is needed, Lambert of Waterlos tells us that, seven years after his marriage, Count Matthew had allied with Louis VII, king of France, and was considered to be a distinguished and virtuous man in the royal court.[39] As Louis VII was a man of noted piety, it is doubtful that he would have had such a good opinion of Matthew if he was excommunicate. Moreover, their alliance demonstrates that the King himself regarded Matthew's marriage to the former abbess Marie, and his consequent tenure of the county of Boulogne, as valid.

Nonetheless, it is apparent that Countess Marie was personally affected by the political necessity for her to abandon the abbey. We have no evidence of her feelings in respect to her departure from her position as Abbess of Romsey, but it seems likely that there was a degree of coercion, or at least strong encouragement, applied by King Henry II. Yet the situation must have troubled her because, in 1170, ten years after her marriage (during which time she bore two daughters), she was moved to resume 'the habit of sacred religion' at Ste Autreberte of Montreuil in Ponthieu. Her return to religious life was approved by her husband, Matthew, so it is possible that he also felt some spiritual concern about the situation of their marriage. There are two charters attesting to Matthew's endowment for her sustenance at the abbey and provision for alms there after her death. Matthew's charter notes that she 'chose' this pleasing home for herself, indicating that her departure from secular life was her

[38] Alexander III, *Opera omnia*, nos 113–14, cols 184–85.

[39] Lambert of Waterlos, *Annales Cameracenses*, p. 539.

own wish.[40] The charter of the Bishop of Thérouanne states that she was inspired by divine love and by a fear of future judgement, suggesting that the prospect of exile in the afterlife was a source of anxiety to her.[41] It is hardly surprising that Marie, having formerly been a professed nun and abbess, found her apostasy to be a personal matter of spiritual concern.

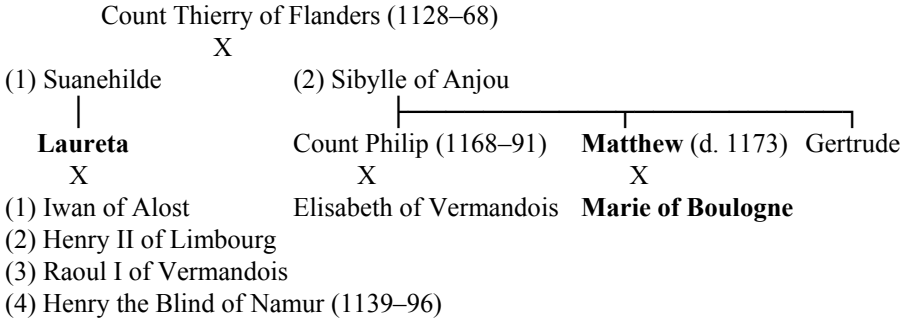
In conclusion, the two cases examined here demonstrate that, although the Church used excommunication as a corrective device in respect to irregularities in marriages, these sentences of spiritual exile did not necessarily have the desired effect of isolating the excommunicates from their community. Laureta of Flanders benefited from support received from others during her flight, most likely from family members but possibly also from religious persons at the abbey of Messines. Certainly the Archbishop of Reims showed a measure of sympathy or compassion by his willingness to hear her side of the matter, and to rule in her favour. Count Matthew and Countess Marie successfully assumed control of the county of Boulogne immediately after their marriage, acknowledged by Kings Henry II of England and Louis VII of France. Within one year, Matthew was seen to be in attendance at an important meeting of bishops. Therefore, the legitimacy of their marriage and their succession to the county had been acknowledged by suzerains, peers, and ecclesiastics. The evidence which suggests that their sentence of excommunication was lifted reasonably quickly, probably within a year of the marriage, demonstrates that the Church was willing to reverse its position on excommunication, even when the desired result had not been achieved. The affair of Laureta of Flanders confirms that the ecclesiastical position towards excommunication and marriage was not without flexibility *and* mercy. It is also important to note that both of these cases involved members of the powerful comital house of Flanders, suggesting that the demands of spiritual punishment sometimes had to bow to political expediency.

[40] BN, Coll. de Picardie MS, 257, fol. 233$^{r–v}$.

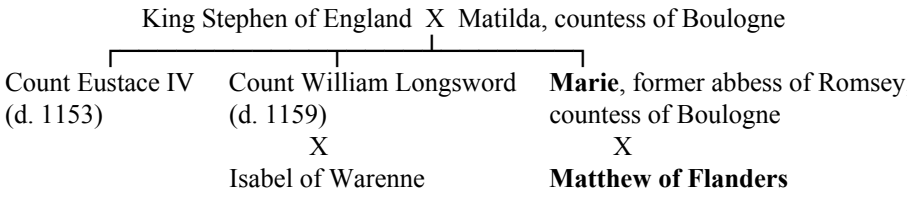
[41] BN, Coll. de Picardie MS, 257, fol. 221^{r}; BN, Coll. Moreau MS, 77, fol. 103$^{r–v}$.

APPENDIX A

Simplified Genealogy of the Comital House of Flanders



Simplified Genealogy of the Comital House of Boulogne


King Stephen of England X Matilda, countess of Boulogne
Count Eustace IV (d. 1153)
Count William Longsword (d. 1159)
Marie, former abbess of Romsey, countess of Boulogne
X
X
Isabel of Warenne
Matthew of Flanders

Part Two
Exile in the Ecclesiastical World

The Concept of *peregrinatio* in Saint Augustine and its Influences*

MANUELA BRITO-MARTINS

The theme of the 2002 Leeds Medieval Congress was dedicated to the notion of exile. In reality, the theme is at the same time precise and wide-ranging, conveying an important and rich semantic field. This is why it deserves to be studied, and more so because of the diversity of meanings it has acquired since the early Christian centuries.

The word *peregrinatio* has a very similar meaning to that of exile, as we can see in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*.[1] Likewise, in the *Lexicon totius latinitatis*, *peregrinatio* is a synonym of exile, which means that it expresses the *actus peregrinandi* of every man outside his own country. All of this is evident in the works of classical Latin authors. We can confidently say that *peregrinatio* is, for the Latin authors, a particular form of exile. In various specialized dictionaries, the meaning of *peregrinus* is directly connected to a varied semantic field, similar to the connection between *peregrinus*, *hospes*, *advena*, and *incola*.[2]

According to the Christian Latin authors, such as Isidore of Seville, for example, the pilgrim is defined as someone who is outside of his own country. Accordingly, he is someone that belongs to another category; he is heterogeneous or incongruous: *Peregrinus, longe a patria positus, sicut alienigena*.[3] In the same sense, by widening

* I am grateful to Laura Napran for assistance in the translation of this essay.

[1] *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1931–53), v.2, 1491.

[2] A. Forcellini, *Lexicon totius latinitatis* (Patavii: Typis Seminarii, 1930), p. 641: 'Peregrinus homo est, quicumque extra patriam et provinciam suam versatur. Differt ad advena, hospes, incola. Nam peregrinus dicitur respectu loci, unde est: advena loci, ad quam venit; hospes loci, ubi est; incola respectu morae habitationis; praeterea hospes potest esse, etiam si peregrinus non sit; incola etiamsi non sit hospes.'

[3] Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum sive originum*, libri XX, 10, 216 (PL, 82, col. 390).

the definition of *peregrinus*, he contrasts it with *incola* and *inquilinus*. In effect, he speaks of the one who is resident and a sojourner as the one who has lost his homeland; whereas we speak of the sojourner as the one who is in the process of travelling, while the resident is the one who lives in his home: 'Incola quidem et inquilinus signum est perditae patriae; sed inquilinus dicitur quandiu peregrinatur, incola cum invenerit sedem.'[4]

If we analyse the etymological meaning of the word, we notice that *peregrinus*, *peregrinatio*, *peregrinor*, *pereger*, and even *peregre* (this last one an adverb) all have the same meaning, which is the one who comes from abroad, or the one who comes from far away.[5] Therefore, these words answer both the questions *unde?* and *ubi?*, that is, the one who is from abroad.

However, there is another meaning for the word *peregrinatio* that connects it with the Greek expression of ξένος and also ξενικὸς, that is, of ἐπὶ ξενῆς that means 'to come from outside of the country', and also ξενιτεία expressing a spiritual journey, from which the meaning of 'arriving from outside' derives, and also the fact that he comes from abroad.[6] In the biblical sense the ξένος has two fundamental meanings: one that conveys the concept of foreigner, and the other the sense of host.[7] The two meanings can also be viewed both positively and negatively. On the other hand, the biblical meaning of ξενιτεία is linked to the exile of Abraham in his journey from the land of Ur.[8] Moreover, another Greek expression is equally connected to the notion of *peregrinatio*, the expression αποδημία (journey).[9]

On this subject, Isidore of Seville, when speaking of the welcome given to foreigners, declares that *xenodokeion* is translated as the one who is occupied with the welcome of foreigners.[10] We can say, then, that, in the classical period of the Latin

[4] Isidore of Seville, *De differentiis uerborum* 322 (PL, 83, col. 43).

[5] In the etymological dictionary of the Latin language we can read: '*Peregri, peregre*, adv.: abroad (question *ubi et quo*) and of the foreigner (question *unde*). *Peregri* is the usual form of the locative: *peregre* suffered the influence of the adverbs of type (*longe)* far from the approximate meaning': A. Ernoult and A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire etymologique de la langue latine: Histoire des mots* (Paris: Librairie C. Klimcksieck, 1967), p. 498.

[6] E. Lanne, 'Peregrinatio', in *Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione*, dir. by G. Pellicio and G. Rocca (Rome: Edizione Paoline, 1980), VI, 1424–36.

[7] G. Stählin, 'ξένος, *ξένία*', in *Theologisches zum Neuen Testament: Grande Lessico del Nuovo Testamento*, ed. by F. Montagnini and others (Brescia: Paideia, 1968), VIII, 7–101. We find also in Aristotle *ξένία*: *Nicomachean Ethics*, 1156 a 31; *Metafísica*, 995 a 3.

[8] A. Solignac, 'Pèlerinages', in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique: Doctrine et histoire* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1984), XII, 888–93 (p. 890).

[9] We have the verb αποδήμεω, from where the Latin verb *peregrinor* derives. But we also have the verb εκπηδάω, from where the Latin verb *exsiliare*, *lactus exsiliendi* derives, which means 'flight'. We find in Plato, as well, the notion of *apodemia*, see *Apologie*, 61 e 1 and 67 c 1.

[10] Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum sive originum*, libri XX, 15, 3 (PL, 82, col. 543): 'Nam ex Graeco in Latinum xenodoxeion peregrinorum susceptio nuncupatur.'

authors, the expression *peregrinatio* determined a meaning that characterized both the one who travels abroad and the one who stays abroad, and this concept was maintained by the Christian Latin authors.

Accordingly, we would like to examine the use of the word *peregrinatio* in the continuity of this classical tradition, reported by the Latin authors and, before them, by the Greeks. Yet, at the same time, we will verify the further development and widening use of this expression as a spiritual journey, mainly in the context of monastic asceticism. The purpose of this analysis is to demonstrate that, from the origins of Christianity, the spiritual character of the idea of pilgrimage was reinforced by the conceptions of the Bible and religious history which were brought to the Christian intellectual and spiritual tradition. The life of the monk was regulated by the condition of the pilgrim. This is attested both in the *Institutions* of John Cassian[11] and in the spirit of the Cistercian life itself. The monk is *peregrinu*s, *pauper*, and *miserabilis*.[12] If he is welcomed because he is a pilgrim, he should stay there, as a host, if possible forever.[13] The ξενιτεία of the monk is that which leads the reality of human existence towards a true existence.

In effect, the concept of *peregrinatio*, as seen in the Christian authors, characterizes man as existing in a condition of exile, whose life is established solely in the stability of God. We have then three essential levels of *peregrinatio*: 1) as the journey of a *peregrinus*, that is, of a foreigner; 2) the spiritual journey to holy places of someone who is searching for God and wishes to carry out God's will; and 3) the inner journey of the soul towards God. Thus, the *peregrinatio* qualifies, on the one hand, the status of the real life of the foreigner and, on the other, the existential 'deracination' as an intellectual and spiritual progression. It is on this last notion of uprooting that we will turn our attention.

In respect to this concept, the influence of classical authors on the first Christian authors, mainly on Saint Augustine or even Saint Ambrose, is not at all well known.

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[11] Iohannes Cassianus, *De institutis coenobiorum*, lib. 4, 14 (PL, 49, col. 170): 'Cumque totam enthecam coenobii suam dominus esse substantiam cunctisque rebus ut omnium dominus omnem curam sollicitudinemque dependat, ae retinendam nihilominus arreptae nuditatis virtutam, quam studet ad finem usque perfecto atque inviolabiliter custodie, ita semet ipsum a cunctis extraneum et omnibus iudicat alienum, ut tamquam peregrinum se gerat et incolam istius mundi, alumnumque se potius monasterii reputet ac ministrum, quam dominum rei cuiuscumque praesumat.'

[12] *Sancti Bernardi Opera Omnia*, ed. by J. Leclercq, C. H. Talbot, and H. M. Rochais, 8 vols (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1957–77), *Ep*. 68, 1 (VII, 166): 'Haec tota nostra culpa est, quantum aestimamus, haec grandis illa iniuria quam vobis fecimus, quod monachum, solum, peregrinum, pauperem miserabilem, animae suae periculum fugitantem.'

[13] *Sancti Bernardi Opera Omnia*, *Ep*. 67, 1 (VII, 164): 'Quomodo ergo illud implebitur quod a beato Benedicto vel praeceipitur, vel permittitur, peregrinum videlicet monachum non solum debere suscipi ad habitandum pro hospite, quanto cupit tempore, sed etiam inventum utilem suaderi ad manendum omni tempore?'

On the other hand, the great importance of the Latin patristic texts in the monastic and scholastic works of the Middle Ages is common knowledge. Jean Leclercq states: 'Third in importance among the sources of medieval monastic culture is classical culture, the word "classical" having in this instance a meaning which requires definition but which, in general acceptance, can be taken to mean the cultural values of pagan antiquity.'[14]

From the works of Dom Jean Leclercq and E. Gilson on Bernard of Clairvaux, we agree that there was a theology that the former called 'monastic theology' and that the latter called 'mystical theology'.[15] We recognize, likewise, that there is a considerable influence of classical literature in the *doctor mellifulus*, as well as the important influence of the patristic authors, mainly of Augustine. For example, in his *Epistolae*, the *peregrinatio* expressed the monastic ascetism that defines the spiritual life of the monk. We also find this characteristic in the letters that Saint Augustine wrote to his fellow brothers. This is why Leclercq speaks of a 'Patristic of the twelfth century' when he speaks specifically of Saint Bernard.[16]

The peregrinatio *in the Classical Latin Authors*

In an author as important as Cicero we find the idea of *peregrinatio* attached to an essentially political meaning. We can even generalize and say that this idea can be found in all classical Latin authors. The expression *peregrinus* defines the one who is a foreigner, and thus, the one who lives in exile. It is obvious that being a citizen of a town is much more important than being a foreigner, because a foreigner, that is, a *peregrinus* or *advena*, has different rights than those of the citizen. It is said: 'Nos autem, hinc Roma qui ueneramus, iam non hospites, sed peregrine atque aduenae nominabamur.'[17] This presupposes that the foreigner is less well regarded than the host. In the *Tusculanes*, for instance, it is necessary to determine, in any given moment, if exile is to be classified among the greatest evils of Mankind. And what difference can there be between being exiled and living continuously abroad (*perpetua peregrinatio*)? 'Iam vero exilium, si rerum naturam, non ignominiam nominis quaerimus, quantum tandem a perpetua peregrinatione.'[18] The only difference con-

[14] Jean Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture*, trans. by C. Misrahi, 2nd rev. edn (London: SPCK, 1978), p. 139.

[15] We find a sort of doctrinal synthesis concerning the difference between 'théologie mystique' (mystical theology) and 'théologie monastique' (monastic theology) in Denis Farkasfalvy, 'Bernard's Concept of the Spiritual Life', *Analecta Cisterciensia*, 53.1–2 (1997), 3–5.

[16] J. Leclercq, 'Une doctrine spirituelle pour notre temps?', in *La Dottrina della vita spirituale nelle opere di San Bernardo di Clairvaux: Atti del convegno internazionale, Roma, 11–15 settembre 1990*, Analecta Cisterciensia, 46 (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1990), pp. 397–410.

[17] Cicero, *De lege agraria*, II, 34, 94.

[18] Cicero, *Tusculanes,* V, 37, 107.

sists in the fact that there are, naturally, no means to console the one who is exiled. But being exiled or living abroad is exactly what many philosophers have done. For example, and according to Cicero, Socrates used to say that he was a citizen of the world and that his homeland was where he felt well: *Patria est, ubicumque est bene*.

In *Ad familiares*, Cicero uses *peregrinatio* to define only the sojourn abroad, which is entirely different from the *peregrinatio* of those who have their life and activity in Rome.[19] In another context, specifically in *De legibus*, Cicero relates to Cato the relationship between journeying and giving the city to philosophy: 'Itaque mihi videris Latine docere philosophiam et ei quasi civitatem dare; quae quidem adhuc peregrinari Romae videatur.'[20] In *Diversis questionibus* by Saint Augustine, we find a context very similar to that of Cicero. He explains that Plato had made several journeys with the purpose of achieving philosophy. There is a very close bond between philosophy and travelling, that is, the journey and the sojourn. In his opinion, the pilgrim is the one who wants to go back to his homeland. This why Augustine says that *incolatus peregrinatio est*.[21] In Augustine the *incola*, the *inquilinus*, and the *peregrinus* are different ways of expressing the exile of the soul in its relationship with God.

In all of these contexts the Latin authors speak of the *peregrinus* as being a foreigner, which comes close to the Greek and biblical concept of ξένος, of which Isidore has spoken. Nevertheless, the concept has undergone a semantic transformation, because the patristic authors accentuate the idea of *peregrinus* as being the one who makes a journey, who travels towards another life, another home, not in the political and mundane sense of the word but in a direction towards God. We can go as far as to say that this *peregrinatio* has here a very deep allegorical meaning.[22] On this subject there is abundant literature that supports a consummate spirituality closely connected to religious pilgrimages, but that, on the other hand, also accentuates the intellectual dimension that is maintained in the monastic spiritual ascetism. Because of this, Saint Bernard affirms: 'Licet autem Magna sit anima, non potest sentire nisi in aenigmate, quandiu peregrinatur in hoc mundo, et per speculum.'[23]

Saint Augustine and his Influence on Saint Bernard

In a great part of the contexts of Augustine's works we find the fundamental idea of *peregrinatio* as being the journey, the way, that defines the life and the existence of

[19] Cicero, *Ad familiares*, II, 12 , 2: 'omnis peregrinatio, quod ego ab adulescentia iudicaui, obscura et sordidast iis quorum industria Romae potest inlustris esse'.

[20] Cicero, *De legibus*, III, 12, 40.

[21] Saint Augustine, *Enarrationes in psalmos* 119, 6 (PL, 37, col. 1602).

[22] We find this very same idea in Isidore of Seville: *Allegoriae quaedam sanctae Scripturae*, par. 118 (PL, 83, col. 115).

[23] *Sancti Bernardi Opera Omnia*, *Sermones III. Sententiae (Series tertia)*, 124 (VI.2, 236).

man as distinct from that of God.[24] In fact, the *Confessions* of Saint Augustine are, in this respect, a good example of what we might call the 'biography of a pilgrimage' or even of a pilgrim. The *Confessions* could, therefore, be described as *peregrinationes animi*, 'pilgrimages of the soul'. At least this is how G. N. Knauer characterizes them in his study called '*Peregrinatio animae*: Zur der Frage der Einheit der augustinischen Konfessionen'.[25] In fact, the *Confessions,* which were probably written between 397 and 400, are the narrative of the inner pilgrimage of the human spirit towards the *habitatio domini*.[26] As Augustine says: 'et ideo, quandiu peregrinor abs te, mihi sum praesentior quam tibi'.[27] This terrestrial journey is made here on earth, far away from God, and because of that, the presence of the soul in oneself is more evident than the presence of God Himself in the human soul. Saint Anselm of Canterbury speaks in his *Proslogium* of this exile of the human soul which makes its journey far from God: 'Quid faciet, altissime Domine, quid faciet iste tuus longinquus exsul ? Quid faciet servus tuus anxius amore tui et longe projectus a facie tua.'[28] The exile has a direct experience with his own consciousness and the consciousness of the other. What the intellectual experience of Saint Anselm reveals about exile, as an essential sign of the evidence of the existence of God, is done in a rather more emotional and existential language than we can see in either the sermons or commentaries of Saint Augustine or Saint Bernard. Bernard, for his part, speaks of an *anima peregrina*: 'tu quidem habitas in regione tua; anima vero peregrina et exsul apud te est hospitata'.[29] This exile which he speaks of relates to the distinction between body and soul — the soul is exiled and lives inside the body. Thus, we can certainly speak of an existence of a Platonism in Bernard's writings that decisively forms the basis of the particular type of exile of man living in this world.[30]

In effect, to speak of *peregrinatio* means, in the Augustinian way of thinking, to speak of a type of *absentatio*, or even of *vacatio dei,* of which Bernard of Clairvaux

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[24] In the whole of the *corpus augustinianus*, and in the Thesaurus database CETEDOC, we find 778 occurrences of the form *peregr**. A search for the form *peregrinatio* finds a total of 242 occurrences.

[25] G. N. Knauer, '*Peregrinatio animae*: Zur der Frage der Einheit der augustinischen Konfessionen', *Hermés*, 85 (1957), 216–48. (Cf. *Bibliothèque Augustinienne* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1992), XIII, 24). See also C. Mohrmann, 'Considerazioni sulle "Confessioni" di Sant' Agostino', *Convivium*, n.s., 25.3 (1957), 257–67 (p. 259).

[26] The dating of the *Confessions* is a hypothesis. According to A. Solignac, in *Bibliothèque Augustinienne*, XIII, 53, we must place them between 397 and 400.

[27] Saint Augustine, *Confessions* X, 5, 7 (PL, 32, col. 782).

[28] Saint Anselm of Canterbury, *Fides quaerens intellectum. Proslogium* (ch. I), ed. by A. Koyré (Paris: Vrin, 1930), p. 6.

[29] *Sancti Bernardi Opera Omnia*, *Sermones in adventum domini*, 6, 3 (IV, 193).

[30] *Sancti Bernardi Opera Omnia*, *Sermones in quadragesima*, Sermo 5 (IV, 373).

declares: *Et absentatio quid nisi peregrinatio?*[31] The Augustinian *vacatio dei* is that of God's rest after having made Creation[32] and also the presence of God's grace in man when He acts within him.[33] To Augustine, the venture of pilgrimage signifies a very complex reality, where a group of concepts are put forward to clarify its meaning. It is, at the same time, existential and transcendent, this last word used here in the sense of *transiliens*. All of these concepts tell us about *exilium*, *vacare, pervagatio*, *migrare*, and *migratio,* from the *patria*, basically, of the status of man as *inquilinus* and *hostes*. All these concepts reveal that the soul is 'an orphan, without home or homeland'.[34]

The *peregrinatio* being the journey on earth represents life itself, with all its tribulations (*tribulationes*) and worries. In sermons 346 A and B, the first one written around 399 and the second one around 405, both with a theme dedicated to the question of *peregrinatio*, it is said: 'Vitam istam nostram, fratres, carissimi, peregrinationem quandam esse a patria.' And in the *Enarrationes in psalmos*, he says: 'cui peregrinatio dulcis est, non amat patriam, si dulcis est patria, amara est peregrinatio; si amara peregrinatio tota die tribulatio. Quando non est tribulatio? Quando in patria delectatio.'[35] This idea is reinforced in the same manner in sermon 378: 'Qui peregrinatur, et novit se peregrinari, desiderat patriam.'[36]

In the *Confessions*, more precisely in book XII, where Augustine explains the creation of heaven and earth, he tries to make understandable the heaven's heaven, *caelum caeli*, as being a creature created before Time and thus eternal, although not co-eternal to God.[37] This creature reveals a proximity to its creator (*quia est idonea faciem tua*). It is this heaven's heaven that is understood as being the glory of God's dwelling. The pilgrimage of the temporal creature is a longing towards this timeless creature, made by God, so that it will possess the temporal creature in itself and, eventually, the two creatures in God Himself. The relationship must be understood as one between the *habitatio* of the timeless creature created by God and the *peregrinatio* of the temporal creature. It puts in perspective the relationship, on the one

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[31] *Sancti Bernardi Opera Omnia*, *Tractatus et opuscula, De praecepto et dispensatione* XX, 60 (III, 293).

[32] Saint Augustine, *Sermones* 270, 5 (PL, 38, col. 1242): 'Ventum est ad septiem diem, ubi nullum opus factum est, sed vacatio dei insinuatur et sanctificauit deus diem septimum.'

[33] Saint Augustine, *De diversis Quaestionibus LXXXIII*, Q. 76 (PL, 40, col. 88): 'Nam justificatus per fidem quomodo potest nisi iusta deinceps operari, quamvis antea nihil iuste operatus ad fidei iustificationem pervenerit non merito bonorum operum sed gratia dei, quae vacare in illo non potest, cum iam per dilectionem bene operatur?'

[34] L. Boros, 'Les Catégories de la temporalité chez saint Augustin', *Archives de philosophie*, 21 (1958), 324–85 (p. 355).

[35] Saint Augustine, *Enarrationes in psalmos* 85, 11 (PL, 37, col. 1089).

[36] Saint Augustine, *Sermones* 378 (PL, 39, col. 1674).

[37] Saint Augustine, *Confessions* XII, 9, 9 (PL, 32, col. 829).

hand, between the luminous and spacious house of this heaven's heaven, created by God, and, on the other hand, the *peregrinatio* of the temporal creature. The pilgrim is then the one who is aware that this homeland is the only eternal dwelling and that only the inhabitants of this dwelling will have eternal life. The pilgrims, since they are still in exile, can only have consolation: 'Vita aeterna possessio habitantium; arrha consolatio est peregrinantium.'[38]

Let us return to the *Confessions* where the *peregrinatio* and the *habitatio* are put in direct connection:

> O house of light and beauty! How well I love the house where the Lord dwells, the shrine his glory. It was he who made you and it is he who possesses you. In my pilgrimage let me sigh for you, and I pray to him who made you that he should possess me too in you, for I also was sheep, but I hope to be carried back to you on the shoulders of my Shepherd, who built you for himself.[39]

Therefore, we can say that, in a certain way, on the opposite side of *peregrinatio*, we have the homeland, the home that fundamentally means the end of the pilgrimage. There is an asymmetry between pilgrimage and *habitatio*. In *Enarratio,* in Psalm 38, Augustine declares: 'Mansio quaedam erit finis currendi; et in ipsa mansione patria sine peregrinatione, sine seditione, sine tentatione.'[40] The *peregrinatio* is the place of the 'placeless', of the one who has no home, of the one who is subject to temptation. Consequently, an antithesis is created between *peregrinatio* and *habitatio*: 'unum horum nobis erit aeterna habitatio, alterum horum nobis est a peregrinatione liberatio'.[41] The end of all pilgrimage, of all journeys in this life, comes from what we see now in image and mystery. Conversely, in eternal life this will be replaced with the face-to-face vision of God Himself: 'Et certe videmus nunc per speculum in aenigmate, nondum facie ad faciem; et ideo, quandiu peregrinor abs te, mihi sum praesentior quam tibi et tamen te noui nullo modo posse uiolari.'[42]

The mystical sense is reinforced in Augustine when he associates the *peregrinus* with *dilectio* to God. In this way the love of the pilgrim must be carried off to God, just as the one who is an enemy would be carried off to God too: 'Peregrinus est: rapiatur ad Deum. Inimicus est: rapiatur ad Deum. Rape, rape inimicum: rapiendo

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[38] Saint Augustine, *Sermones* 378 (PL, 39, col. 1673).

[39] Saint Augustine, *Confessionum libri XIII*, XII, 15 (PL, 32, col. 833): 'O domus luminosa et speciosa, dilexi decorem tuum et locum habitationis gloriae domini mei, fabricatoris et possessoris tui! tibi suspiret peregrinatio mea, et dico ei qui fecit te, ut possideat et me in te, quia fecit et me.' We have followed the translation by R. S. Pine-Coffin, in *Encyclopedia Britannica* (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 1993), p. 131.

[40] Saint Augustine, *Enarrationes in psalmos* 38, 8 (PL, 36, col. 419).

[41] Saint Augustine, *Sermones* 92 (PL, 38, col. 573).

[42] Saint Augustine, *Confessions* X, 5 (PL, 32, col. 782).

non erit inimicus.'[43] For his part, Bernard of Clairvaux says: 'Suscipe illos tamquam advenas et peregrinor, verumtamen cives sanctorum et domesticos dei.'[44]

Once again, in the *Confessions,* Augustine speaks of a pilgrimage that is accomplished from afar, in correspondence to a strong desire to live, as he says, 'in your home' (*in domo tua*): 'Unde intellegat anima, cuius peregrinatio longinqua facta est [. . .] si iam petit a te unam et hanc requirit, ut inhabitet in domo tua per omnes dies vitae suae?'[45] In effect, the expression *cuius peregrinatio longinqua facta est* is recovered in the passage of Luke 15. 13. This biblical quotation is present in different contexts of his work, mainly in *Enarrationes*, in *Sermones*, and in *Confessions*. Nevertheless, by using it, he extends further the meaning of the text. There are, in fact, problems with the Latin translation of the biblical Greek text and, consequently, there is even more in the interpretation than Augustine makes of it, by his extension of the meaning.[46] Furthermore, there is also another question that we can address: does it have an exclusively biblical usage? We don't think so.

However, if we concentrate now on the commentary by Bernard of Clairvaux on this same passage, we notice that the meaning is much closer to that of the Greek text, even if the symbolic interpretation is much expanded. In fact, in this commentary, Bernard breaks away from both the ancient biblical version and the Vulgate. In contrast, Augustine used the ancient version of the Bible. Bernard interprets the biblical passage of Luke 15. 13 in the *Sermones de diversis,* in his commentary on sermon 8. This chapter relates the story of the prodigal son. What is important here is the determination of the alien state that characterizes the life of the youngest son, the one who left his father's house to live in a distant land as a foreigner (*peregrinus*) and not as a citizen. Thus we have, according to Bernard, on the one hand, the life of the foreigner and, on the other, the connection between the experience of this alien state and of his citizenship in a land which, according to Bernard, is a sinful one. There is a parallel between the life of the foreigner (*peregrinus*) seen as a natural

[43] Saint Augustine, *Sermones* 90, 10 (PL, 38, col. 566).

[44] *Sancti Bernardi Opera Omnia*, *Ep.* 28 (VIII, 68).

[45] Saint Augustine, *Confessions*, XII, 11, 13 (PL, 32, cols 830–31).

[46] But let us speak first of the biblical excerpt. We can read in Luke 15. 13 the following : 'Et non post multos dies congregatis omnibus adulescentior filius peregre profectus est in regionem longinquam et ibi dissipauit substantiam suam vivendo luxuriose' ('Some days after, gathering all his belongings, the youngest son left for a distant country and there he spent his wealth with his misbehaviour'). But if we analyse the Greek text more closely, we can see that there is no place for the expression *peregrinatio* or for any other derived from that one: 'καὶ μετ' οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας συναγαγὼν παντά ὁ νεώτερος υἱὸς ἀπεδήμησεν εἰς χώραν μακρὰν καὶ ἐκεῖ διεσκόρπισεν τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ.' Actually *peregre* appears as an adverb to reinforce the verb αποδημεω, accompanied by χορανμακραν — μακραν being the adverb corresponding to *longinqua*. The verb was translated by *profectus est* — from *proficiscor*.

existence, and the opposite of this alien state, the citizenship exercised, not in a natural way, but morally as a land of sin.

> Unde et profectus in regionem longinquam uni civium legitur adhaesisse, quem ego non alium quam unum ex malignis spiritibus intelligendum puto, qui pro eo quod obstinatione irreparabili peccant et transierunt in affectum malitiae et nequitiae, iam non hospites, et advenae sunt, sed quasi cives et inhabitatores peccati. Quid est autem, quod civi dicitur adhaesisse pauper adolescens et peregrinus, nisi quod factus est subditus illi?[47]

The essential motifs of this interpretation are mainly biblical and patristic, but also rhetorical and literary. It is basically in the biblical interpretation, but also in the philosophical and literary ones, that different elements, mainly classical, are combined. The use of language is most important. There is in Cicero a direct connection between what the spirit really is and its intellectual pilgrimage that throws it into a distant land (*magnitudo regionem*) where, travelling far away, the spirit no longer recognizes its limits.[48] Between the notion of *peregrinus* in the classical sense and the notion of *peregrinus* and of *peregrinatio* in the biblical sense, there is effectively a connection of these two sources. They can be found in both Augustine and in Bernard of Clairvaux.

Augustine comments on Psalm 119. 7 by saying:

> Huius ergo hominis longinqua peregrinatio facta est intermalos. Et tanquam deceretur ille, cum quibus ergo habitas, ut gemas? Peregrinatio, inquit mea longinqua facta est. Sed quid, si cum bonis esset? Si cum bonis esset, non diceret, heu meu! Heu, vox est miseriae, vox est calumnitatis et infelicitatis, sed tamen in spe, quia iam uel genere didicit. Multi enim et miseri sunt, et non gemunt, et peregrinantur et redire nolunt. Iste iam uolens redire cognosci infelicitatem peregrinationis suae quia agnouit illam, redit; et ascendere incipit, quia Canticum gradum coepit cantare.[49]

In his sermon 1 on Song of Songs, we notice, once again, the Augustinian influence in Saint Bernard. Right at the beginning, he explains the importance of these poems, these songs, in the midst of biblical writing. According to him, they are a good example of a symbolic panegyric that defines the exiled man on earth who is turning towards God. Following the commentary, he clarifies the symbolic meaning of the Song of Songs. They are, fundamentally, the progression of man towards God, in his heart and in his movement of inner conversion. Thus, the pilgrimage also signifies this progression of a journey on earth in exile:

> Cantabiles mihi erant iustificationes tuae in loco peregrinationis meae. Arbitror vos in vobismetipsis illa iam recognoscere, quae in psalterio non Cantica canticorum, sed Cantica graduum, appellantur, eo quod ad singulos profectus vestros, iuxta ascensiones

[47] *Sancti Bernardi Opera Omnia*, *Sermones de diversis* 8, 3 (VI.1, 112–13).

[48] Cicero, *De natura deorum*, I, 20, 54.

[49] Saint Augustine, *Enarrationes in psalmos* 119, 7 (PL, 37, col. 1602).

> quas quisque in corde suo disposuit, singula sint cantica depromenda ad laudem et gloriam promoventis.[50]

Bernard explains that they reveal a gradation in the manner of praising and participating in the glory of God. The exile is, then, a sort of progression towards perfection. This interpretation of Bernard's matches the remark that Augustine makes in his commentary to Psalm 119, where he declares what Song of Songs really means:

> Est enim, sicut eius titulus praenotatur, Canticum graduum. Graece scriptum est, ἀναβαθμῶν. Gradus vel descendium sunt vel ascendentium: sed gradus quomodo in his psalmis positi sunt, ascendentes significant. Intelligamus ergo tamquam ascensuri: nec nec ascensiones pedibus corporalibus quaeramus, sed sicut in alio psalmo scriptum est, 'ascensiones in corde eius disposuit, in convalle plorationis, in locum quem disposuit'.[51]

Augustine clarifies the meaning of this ascension in the life of the man who lives in the land of exile. This gradation justifies, in the first place, the symbolic meaning of the psalms of Song of Songs, but it signifies, as well, the moral sense that man feels in the life that he leads. It is also here that the influence of Augustine on Bernard is equally decisive:

> Quia incolatus meus longinquus factus est. Incolatus peregrinatio est: incola dicitur qui habitat in terra aliena, non in civitate sua. Longinquus, inquit, factus est incolatus meus. Et ubi longinquus? Aliquando, fratres mei, cum peregrinatur homo, inter meliores vivit, quam in patria sua forte viveret: sed non sic est, quando de illa Ierusalem caelesti peregrinamur.[52]

The biblical songs do not all have the same rank and, accordingly, neither does the life of man on earth, as Bernard explains. But the Song of Songs represents the excellence of this gradation. For Bernard, as for Augustine, the exile defines the situation of man in the world, full of tribulations and worries. But the worries and the tribulations, or even the griefs, can be followed by moments of tranquility and gentleness. We can say, as did Guy Lardreau, that there is in Bernard, 'an immediate link between the loving experience and the experience of exile; the lover is exiled, in the world's common order, and his exile inspires him like every exile does'.[53] The sweetness of the homeland brings a sweetness to the pilgrimage on earth: 'dulcis est enim una patria, et vere una patria, sola patria; praeter illam quidquid nobis est peregrinatio est'.[54] For his part, Saint Bernard will say: 'quam dulce est peregrinis, post multum longo itineris fatigationem, post plurima terrae maris que periculunt tandem quiescere'.[55]

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[50] *Sancti Bernardi Opera Omnia*, *Sermones super Cantica Canticorum*, Sermo 1, 9–10 (I, 7).

[51] Saint Augustine, *Enarrationes in psalmos* 119, 1 (PL, 37, col. 1596).

[52] Saint Augustine, *Enarrationes in psalmos* 119, 6 (PL, 37, col. 1602).

[53] Guy Lardreau, 'Amour philosophique et amour spirituel', in *Saint Bernard et la philosophie*, ed. by R. Brague (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1993), pp. 27–48 (p. 29).

[54] Saint Augustine, *Enarrationes in psalmos* 61, 7 (PL, 36, col. 754).

[55] *Sancti Bernardi Opera Omnia*, *Liber ad milites Templi* XI, 29 (III, 292).

Conclusion

The term *pereginatio* is closely associated with the idea of exile, that is, *homo peregrinus*. Fundamentally, the concept is biblical, but it is also part of classical thinking, especially Cicero. This essay was divided into two essential parts: the first explored the semantic meaning of the term *peregrinatio*, its original meaning derived from Greek and Latin roots, and the importance of this concept in Christian biblical tradition. This concept within classical Latin thinking was used essentially in a political context. It could even be said that this concept is found virtually in all classical Latin authors. The term *peregrinus* defines the one who is a foreigner, therefore, the one who lives in exile. It is evident that being a citizen was valued more highly than being a foreigner, as the foreigner has completely different rights from the citizen. Cicero states that, 'as for us who come from Rome, we were no longer called guests, but foreigners'.

The second section developed Saint Augustine's idea of *peregrinatio*. Analysing much of his work, we encounter the concept of *peregrinatio* as the journey, the way which defines man's life and existence as distinct from God. Saint Augustine's *Confessions* are a good example of what could be called 'biography of a pilgrimage'. Essentially, the *Confessions* are a narrative of the human spirit's inner pilgrimage towards *habitatio domini*. Saint Augustine declares: 'while a pilgrim far away from you, I am more aware of myself than of you'. The influence of Augustinian thinking is clearly visible in Bernard of Clairvaux's writing in this concept of *peregrinatio*. We have given two examples, one from Bernard of Clairvaux's commentary to the Sermons (*Sermones de diversis*). The philosophical and allegoric interpretations he uses here, on the one hand, continue Augustine's interpretation, and on the other hand they extend the existential meaning of the *peregrinatio*, which defines man in exile, far from the true home, which is God. The other example was taken from Bernard's commentary to the Song of Songs. This interpretation's essential motives are fundamentally biblical, patristic, but also rhetorical and literary.

Exile, Sanctity, and Some Scandinavian Rulers of the Late Viking Age

HAKI ANTONSSON

In his *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum* (*c*. 1080), Adam of Bremen tells of the cruel fate that befell King Haraldr Bluetooth of Denmark (*c*. 958–86).[1] Haraldr, he reports, was the first Christian king of Denmark and a ruler who 'strengthened his rule by holiness and justice'. Haraldr, however, does not enjoy the fruits of his labour for we are told that his son, Sweyn Forkbeard, leads a revolt against him with the intention of establishing himself as sole ruler and, it is implied, to eradicate Christianity from the kingdom. Placing his trust in God, Haraldr attempts to quell the rebellion but is defeated and, mortally injured, he seeks sanctuary amongst the pagan Slavs. They receive Haraldr kindly, but shortly thereafter he dies. At this point in the text, Adam adds this eulogy: '[Haraldr] who first declared Christianity to the Danish people, who filled the whole north with preachers and churches, he, I say wounded and driven out, though innocent for the sake of Christ, will not fail, I hope, to gain a martyr's palm.'[2] According to Adam, people claimed that Haraldr possessed healing powers during his lifetime and there were reports of miracles taking place at the King's resting place in Roskilde.

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[1] *Magistri Adam Bremensis: Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum*, II:27–28, ed. by B. Schmeidler, MGH, SRG, 2 (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1917), pp. 87–88. The translation cited here is *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen: Adam of Bremen*, trans. with introduction and notes by Francis J. Tschan. With a new introduction and selected bibliography by Timothy Reuter (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).

[2] *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*, trans. by Tschan, p. 73. 'At ille noster Haroldus, qui populo Danorum christianitatem primux indixit, qui totum septentrionem predicatoriubus et ecclesiis replivit, ille, inquam, innocens vulneratus et pro Christo expulsus martyiiri palma, ut spero, non carebit': *Magistri Adam Bremensis: Gesta Hammaburgensis*, II:28, p. 88.

The historical veracity of this account is suspect.[3] Although Sweyn Forkbeard did rebel against his father sometime in the 980s, he was certainly neither a pagan nor an enemy of Christianity, as is for instance demonstrated by the crosses on the coinage issued in his name in the last decade of the tenth century.[4] Adam's reliability apart, his account of King Haraldr Bluetooth's downfall is of interest as it contains the earliest combination of the themes of exile and sanctity to be associated with a Scandinavian ruler.

Sanctity, and especially martyrdom, plays a prominent role in Adam's *Gesta*, especially in relation to German missionaries who suffered violent deaths while preaching the Gospel to the pagan Scandinavians.[5] Like those missionary priests and bishops, Haraldr loses his life because of his missionary efforts among the pagans, and for this reason he is also worthy of a 'martyr's palm'. But King Haraldr's death represents an interesting variation on the usual presentation of martyred missionaries, for in addition to suffering fatal wounds in defence of Christianity, Haraldr has been stripped of his kingdom by divine providence. He dies an ignominious death in exile among strangers, apparently forsaken by God.

In Adam's *Gesta* the themes of God's abandonment and exile owe much to Old Testament notions of divine favour.[6] Most notably Sweyn Forkbeard's revolt is likened to Absalom's rebellion against his father, King David. When Haraldr hears of Sweyn's rebellion he is described as 'another David, mourning for his son Absalom. Grieving rather over his sin than his own peril'.[7] But in the Old Testament David defeats Absalom's insurrection and as a result his son is vanquished. In the case of Haraldr and Sweyn the outcome is diametrically opposite, and it is at this juncture that the theme of martyrdom comes into play. Haraldr loses his kingdom but in death he gains everlasting glory. The theme of exile is carried forward to Adam's account of Sweyn Forkbeard's career subsequent to his revolt. Sweyn is captured while

[3] On the medieval presentation of King Sweyn, see P. H. Sawyer, 'Swein Forkbeard and the Historians', in *Church and Chronicle in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to John Taylor*, ed. by I. Wood and G. A. Loud (London: Hambledon, 1991), pp. 27–40.

[4] Kirsten Bendixen, 'The Currency in Denmark from the Beginning of the Viking Age until *c*. 1100', in *Viking-Age Coinage in the Northern Lands: The Sixth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History*, ed. by M. A. S. Blackburn and D. M. Metcalf, vols I–II, BAR International Series I, 22 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 1979), I, 405–18 (p. 409).

[5] See, for instance, *Magistri Adam Bremensis: Gesta Hammaburgensis*, II:41; II:57; II:64.

[6] On Adam's use of biblical and classical literature in general, see Anders Piltz, 'Adam, Bibeln och auctores: En studie i litterär teknik', in *Historien om Hamburgstiftet och dess biskopar: Adam von Bremen*, trans. by Emanuel Svenberg; commentary by C. F. Hallencreutz (Proprius: Stockholm, 1984), pp. 341–54. See also S. Bagge, 'Decline and Fall: Deterioration of Character as Described by Adam of Bremen and Sturla fiórðarson', in *Individuum und Individualität im Mittelalter*, ed. by A. Aertsen and A. Speer (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1996), pp. 530–48.

[7] *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*, trans. by Tschan, p. 72.

raiding the Slavs and subsequently his kingdom is taken over by the King of the Swedes.[8] This reversal of fortune, Adam informs us, was God's punishment for Sweyn's prior transgressions and hostility to Christianity.[9] The Danish king suffers thirteen years of humiliating exile until he 'knew that the Lord He is God, and, returning to himself, considered his sins and in contrition prayed to the Lord. God heard him and gave him favour in the sight of his enemies.'[10] Thereafter Sweyn is restored to the kingdom and rules as a good Christian.

It is evident that Adam of Bremen's story of these early Christian kings of Denmark is influenced by the Old Testament concept of kingship by divine grace. God bestows favour on those he chooses while allotting punishment to those he deems unworthy. In both instances exile plays a pivotal role. Haraldr Bluetooth dies hounded from his kingdom but is rewarded with a crown of martyrdom, while in the case of his son the exile serves as a punishment, which culminates in a religious conversion and subsequent return to power.

Haraldr Bluetooth's reputation for sanctity is only attested in Adam of Bremen's *Gesta*. No evidence of a cult of King Haraldr has survived, nor are there any traces of hagiographic literature composed in his honour. It is not, however, difficult to establish why Adam associated Haraldr with sainthood. Sweyn Estrithsen (1047–74/6), Haraldr's great-grandson, was Adam's main informant for the events in Denmark (and Sweden) in the late tenth century,[11] and it can be postulated that he was interested in establishing a cult of his ancestor, perhaps as a counterweight to the popular Norwegian cult of Saint Ólafr. This proposition seems particularly likely in light of Sweyn's longstanding warfare with Haraldr the Stern, Saint Ólafr's half-brother and self-appointed guardian of his cult.

These observations aside, the themes which Adam develops in his account of Haraldr Bluetooth and Sweyn Forkbeard — exile, sanctity, and rulership by the grace of God — reappear in the writings on Scandinavian princes that were indeed considered saints after their deaths. For the rest of this essay I will concentrate on two such saints, Saint Magnús of Orkney (d. 1117) and the aforementioned Saint Ólafr of Norway.

The story of Earl Magnús's life, martyrdom, and posthumous miracles is best known from *Orkneyinga saga* (*The Saga of the Earls of Orkney*), composed around

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[8] For a discussion of the historical veracity of this account, see Sawyer, 'Swein Forkbeard and the Historians', pp. 33–35. Lauritz Weibull, *Kritiska undersökningar i Nordens historia omkring år 1000*, repr. in his *Nordisk Historia: Forskningar och undersökningar*, vol. I, *Forntid och Vikingtid* (Lund: Bokförlaget Natur och Kultur, 1946), pp. 275–87.

[9] *Magistri Adam Bremensis: Gesta Hammaburgensis*, II:30, pp. 91–92.

[10] *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*, trans. by Tschan, p. 81.

[11] C. F. Hallenkreutz, *Adam Bremensis and Sueonia: A Fresh Look at Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 1984), pp. 10–11.

the turn of the thirteenth century.[12] Prior to the compilation of the Icelandic saga, however, a certain *magister* Robert wrote a *vita et passio* of the Orcadian saint. Although Robert's original Latin work is lost, extensive sections of it were incorporated into an early fourteenth-century Icelandic hagiographic account, *Magnúss saga lengri* (*Magnús saga the longer*).[13] Another work of uncertain date, the short *De legenda sancto Magni*, is also derivative of Robert's *vita*.[14] I have argued elsewhere that *magister* Robert's *Life* was heavily influenced by the early biographies of Saint Thomas Becket.[15] In particular, there is a clear correspondence between Robert's *Life* of Magnús and a *vita* of Becket composed by Robert of Cricklade, prior of St Frideswide abbey in Oxford, in the early 1170s. Like *Magnúss saga lengri*, Robert of Cricklade's *Life* is also incompletely preserved in an Icelandic work of the fourteenth century, known as *Thómas saga II*, a composite work of early Becket biographies.[16] This correspondence has led me to conclude that the two Roberts were in all probability one and the same author. I do not wish to restate my arguments here regarding the manifold connections between the Magnús material and the Becket corpus. In the context of this study, however, it is of interest to note the manner in which *magister* Robert deals with the theme of Magnús's exile from Orkney.

Magnúss saga lengri is particularly detailed regarding the manner in which Magnús finally secures his rightful patrimony in the Orkney earldom. According to the saga, once Magnús realized that Hákon Pálson, his rival, desired to eliminate him from the political scene, he went into voluntary exile.[17] Having set sail for England and arriving at the court of Henry I, he was well received and for a whole year he was treated 'as beseemed a king to treat a noble duke'. Unique to *Magnúss saga lengri* is the following description of how, during Magnús's exile, the people of Caithness bestowed on him the title of earl:

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[12] *Orkneyinga saga. Legenda de Sancto Magno. Magnúss saga skemmri. Magnúss saga lengri. Helga fláttur Úlfs*, ed. by Finnbogi Guðmundsson, Íslenzk fornrit, 35 (Reykjavik: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 1965), pp. 86–129.

[13] *Orkneyinga saga*, ed. by Finnbogi Guðmundsson, pp. 335–83. A translation of the work is printed in *Icelandic Sagas and Other Historical Documents*, ed. and trans. by Guðbrandur Vigfússon and George W. Dassent, 4 vols, RS, 88, III, 239–80.

[14] *Orkneyinga saga*, ed. by Finnbogi Guðmundsson, pp. 303–08.

[15] See Haki Antonsson, 'Two Twelfth-Century Martyrs: St Magnus of Orkney and St Thomas of Canterbury', in *Sagas, Saints and Settlements*, ed. by P. Bibire and G. W. Williams (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 41–64.

[16] *Thómas saga erkibyskups*, ed. by Eríkur Magnússon, 2 vols, RS, 65. For a partial reconstruction of Robert of Cricklade's work, see M. Orme, 'A Reconstruction of Robert of Cricklade's *Vita et Miracula S. Thomae Cantuariensis*', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 84 (1966), 379–98.

[17] For a literary analysis of this episode, see Robin Waugh, 'Saint Magnús's Fame in *Orkneyinga saga*', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 102.2 (2003), 163–87.

> Ok sem hann hafði verit slíka stund í hirð Skotakonungs sem honum líkaði, sæmdr af konunginum gjöfum ok göfgu föruneyti, fór hann á Katanes ok var þar af öllum virðulega tekinn, hirtr ok haldinn ok þegar kosinn ok tignaðr jarls nafni, vinsæll ok virðuligr öllum guðs vinum. Ok því næst án dvöl gerðist inn heilagi Magnús jarl Paulus af Saulo, predikari af manndrápsmanni, ok hefndi hann þat á sjálfum sér, þat er hann hafði illa lifat.[18]
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> (And when he had stayed as long in the Scot-king court as pleased him, honoured with the King's gifts and a noble retinue, he went to Caithness where he was well received, honoured and esteemed by all, and at once chosen and ennobled with the title of 'Earl' beloved and honoured of all the friends of God. Thereafter, without delay, the holy Earl Magnús was made Paul out of Saul, a preacher from a manslayer, and he avenged on himself that which he had lived ill.)[19]

This passage, which does not figure in *Orkneyinga saga*, almost certainly stems from Robert's twelfth-century *Life* of Saint Magnús.[20] It tells of Magnús's transformation at the point when he assumed the title of earl. At this moment he leaves behind the secular life and embraces that of a saint. This transformation, not unlike that of Sweyn Forkbeard in Adam of Bremen's account, takes place while he is in exile. For both Magnús and Sweyn their physical and spiritual exile is terminated with religious revelation that clears a path to power. But in the case of Magnús this transformation also signifies a milestone in his saintly progression. It marks the end of his exile, the return to Orkney which eventually leads to his martyrdom at the hands of his cousin and co-ruler, Earl Hákon.

In the passage cited above, *magister* Robert appears to have been influenced by early hagiographic writings on Thomas of Canterbury. Like Magnús before his 'crowning' in Caithness, Becket had lived the life of a secular figure until his consecration to the archbishopric in 1162. Although his biographers saw this occasion as a turning point in his life, they did not present it as a complete conversion from secular life to that of holiness. Rather it marked 'the dramatic realisation by divine will of a potential which had previously existed'.[21] Robert of Cricklade appears to have taken a different view because in a passage preserved in *Thómas saga II*, he attributes the following words to Bishop Henry of Winchester who was present at Becket's consecration:

> 'Son minn sætasti,' sagði hann, 'lát þér eigi hrygðar afla þetta efni, því at héðan í frá muntu fagrliga bæta, ef þú hefir nokkut brotið. Leið þér til minnis, hversu hann gerði Paulus, hann var fyrri mótstöðumaðr Guðs kristni, enn síðan mestr uppheldismaðr í

[18] *Orkneyinga saga*, ed. by Finnbogi Guðmundsson, p. 349.

[19] *Icelandic Sagas*, ed. and trans. by Guðbrandur Vigfússon and Dassent, p. 251.

[20] For this, see Haki Antonsson, 'Two Twelfth-Century Martyrs', p. 19.

[21] M. Staunton, 'Thomas Becket's Conversion', *ANS*, 21 (1999), 193–211 (p. 205).

> orði ok eftirdæmi, ok dýrkaði hana at lyktum með sínu banablóði. Gefi þat Guð Drottinn, at þú líkist honum á götu lífs ok réttlætis.'[22]
>
> ('My sweetest son,' he said, 'let this matter not cause you any grief for from now on you will beautifully atone if you have in any way wronged. Call to your mind what he did, Paul who before had stood against God's Christianity but later became her greatest supporter in both word and example and finally he glorified her by his blood. May the Lord God grant that you be like him in the path of life and justice.')[23]

Three main parallels with Magnús's transformation in Caithness can be noted here. Firstly, both involve the assumption by the protagonists of high office, Magnús assuming the title of earl and Becket putting on the garb of archbishop. Secondly, both recall Saul's dramatic conversion on the road to Damascus. Lastly, in both instances the emphasis is on the abandonment and atonement by the protagonists of their previous way of life. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Robert of Cricklade, writing his *vita* of Saint Magnús in the 1170s, modelled Magnús's accession to the earldom of Orkney on the consecration of Becket to the archbishopric of Canterbury. In a sense Magnús's alienation from his rightful patrimony and return from physical exile is thus equated with Becket's spiritual exile prior to 1162.

Exile also plays a significant role in the career of Scandinavia's first native saint, King Ólafr Haraldsson of Norway who died at the battle of Stiklastaðir in 1030 and was locally canonized two years later. By the second half of the eleventh century Saint Ólafr's cult enjoyed widespread popularity in Norway and abroad.[24] In particular, the cult was important in enhancing the status of Norwegian royal authority and promoting the town of Nidaros/Trondheim as a centre of pilgrimage.

The *Passio et miracula beati Olavi*, of the late twelfth century, is the earliest preserved hagiographic work on Saint Ólafr. It is preserved in two Latin versions. Only one of them, however, contains a more extensive *miracula* section. The longer version is only attested in a single manuscript from *c*. 1200 (Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 209, originating in Fountains abbey, Yorkshire),[25] while the shorter redaction is preserved in a number of manuscripts, the oldest dating from the last quarter of the twelfth century. F. Metcalfe published the longer redaction in 1881, and this is the text followed in this essay.

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[22] *Thómas saga*, ed. by Eríkur Magnússon, I, 80–82. For the reason for believing that this passage derives from Robert of Cricklade, see Haki Antonsson, 'Two Twelfth-Century Martyrs'.

[23] *Thómas saga*, ed. by Eríkur Magnússon, I, 83.

[24] On Ólafr's cult, see the essays in *St Olav – seine Zeit und sein Kult*, ed. by G. Svahnström, Acta Visbyensia, 6 (Visby: Museums Gotlands Fornsal, 1981).

[25] *Passio et Miracula Beati Olavi*, ed. by F. Metcalfe (Kristiania, 1881).

Considerable attention has been given to the textual history of the *Passio*.[26] It is commonly accepted, however, that Archbishop Eysteinn of Nidaros (1157 [cons. 1161]–88) was responsible for the *Passio* as it appears in the Corpus Christi College manuscript.[27] This identification is based on the fact that this version contains Eysteinn's treatise on the miracles of Saint Ólafr. It is also evident that Eysteinn's version must be placed within a wider textual context, including Theodoricus monachus's *Historia regum Norwagiensium* and *Historia Norvegiae,* which were composed in the late twelfth century by a clerical elite with strong connections to the Nidaros archbishopric.[28]

The *vita* section of the *Passio et miracula* is relatively brief (running to only six pages in Metcalfe's edition), and in matters of content it has received surprisingly little attention. The narrative thread of the work is straightforward. The Viking King Ólafr Haraldsson undergoes baptism in Rouen, and shortly thereafter he returns to Norway where he assumes sole rulership. Ólafr strives to further Christianity among his newly converted countrymen, but in this endeavour he faces stiff opposition and eventually is forced into exile in Russia. The theme of exile is of paramount importance in understanding the nature of the *Passio et miracula beati Olavi*, and hence the following passage is worth quoting in full:

> Explicari uerbis non potest, quanta beneficia populis illis rex sepe nominatus contulerit, quantum profuit dum prefuit, et in promulgacione legum, et in sustentacione pauperum, et assiduitate predicationis, et exemplo sua sanctissime conuersationis. Set e conuerso perpessus est ab eis tribulaciones multas et malas, donec illorum multitudini resistere non ualens secesit in rusciam, oportunum ratus cedere tempori, donec uoluntati sue ac proposito tempus idoneum dominus conferre dignaretur. Nemini ueniat in mentem fortissimum et constantissimum Christi athletam, ut est infirmatis humane, cessisse perterritum metu passionis, qui sepenumero passioni sese sponte obiecerat, sicut rei exitus et ipsius illustre martirium declarauit. Utilitati aliorum, oportuniori se reseruauit tempori, quando fructus uberiores exibere domino, et talentum sibi commissum multiplici resignare posset cum usura. Clarissimus igitur Christi martir ingressus russiam, a iarzellauo, eiusdem prounicie rege magnifico, gloriose susceptus, et in honore amplissimo, quamdiu ibi morari uoluit, habitus est. Ubi non paruo tempore demoratus, honestam uite formam, et sue religionis, caritatis, benignitatis, et

[26] For a textual history of the work, see *A History of Norway and the Passion and Miracles of the Blessed Ólafr*, trans. by Devra Kunin, ed. with an introduction and notes by Carl Phelpstead (London: Viking Society for Northern Research, 2001), pp. xxvi–xlv. See also Inger Ekrem, 'Om *Passio Olavis* tilblivelse og eventuelle forbindelse med *Historia Nowegie*', in *Olavslegenden og den latinske historiskrivning i 1100-tallets Norge*, ed. by I. Ekrem and others (Copenhagen: Tusculum Press, 2000), pp. 108–56.

[27] For Eysteinn of Nidaros, see also Anne Duggan's essay in this volume.

[28] L. B. Mortensen, 'The Anchim Manuscript of *Passio Olaui* (Douai 295), William of Jumièges, and Theodoricus Monachus: New Evidence for Intellectual Relations between Norway and France in the 12th Century', *Symbolae Osloenses*, 75 (1998), 165–89.

> patiencie celebre monimentum incolis reliquit. Denique decoratus ignre persecutionis et exilii, acceptabilis inuentus et idoneus, qui maiora certamina posset sustinere, diuiono inspiratus instinctu per suecie fines ad propria remeauit.[29]
>
> (Words cannot express the many benefits the oft-named king conferred upon his people, the good he did while he governed them, by enacting laws and relieved the poor, by diligent preaching and by the example of his holy life. He had many trials and tribulations to endure from the people, until at length he could not oppose the multitude of evils. Thinking the moment required it, he withdrew into Russia till the Lord should deign to find a time suitable for him to fulfil his desire and purpose. Let no one suppose that this most stalwart and steadfast champion of Christ was subject to human weakness, that he retreated for fear of martyrdom. For he had often courted martyrdom of his own free will, as the outcome of events and his illustrious death made manifest. For the benefit of others he saved himself to await a more favourable moment, when he might present more plentiful fruits to the Lord and return with manifold interest the talent entrusted to him. Therefore the glorious martyr of Christ went to Russia where he was nobly received by Jaroslav, the magnificent king of that realm, and held in the highest esteem as long as he chose to remain. He stayed there for some time, and left the inhabitants with a model of upright life and a famous recollection of his piety, charity, kindness and patience. At length, refined by the fire of persecution and exile, found acceptable and worthy to sustain greater trials, prompted by divine inspiration, he returned by way of Sweden to his native land. By the grace of God, conferred upon him more abundantly than ever, he was there received by many with ardent longing.)[30]

In this passage the reason given for King Ólafr's escape into exile in Russia is of particular interest. The author is at pains to stress that Ólafr did not flee because of cowardice or unwillingness to face death at the hands of his Norwegian opponents. Rather Ólafr goes into exile in order to fulfil the potential of his preordained martyrdom: 'for the benefit of others he saved himself to await a more favourable moment'. In other words, Ólafr's Russian exile is presented as an integral part of his road to martyrdom. The reader is assured that Ólafr did not neglect his royal duties by leaving Norway. On the contrary, in the interest of his people he saved himself for martyrdom at a later time so that his people would enjoy 'with manifold interest the talent entrusted to him'.

This particular interpretation of King Ólafr Haraldsson's martyrdom was not repeated by later Norwegian and Icelandic writers on the subject. However, within the *Passio* the presentation of Ólafr's exile as an integral part of his journey towards martyrdom is wholly consistent with the work's underlying interpretation of his life. Ólafr's career is portrayed as pilgrimage towards his ultimate sacrifice: 'Not only was he ready to suffer, not only ready to yield up the crown of temporal kingship for Christ's sake, but he also desired to win the glory of everlasting felicity through the

[29] *Passio et Miracula*, ed. by Metcalfe, pp. 71–72.

[30] *A History of Norway*, trans. by Kunin, ed. by Phelpstead, pp. 29–30.

crown of martyrdom.'[31] Thus the *Passio* does not depict Ólafr simply as an ideal king who is the victim of hostile circumstances (like Haraldr Bluetooth is in Adam's account) but rather as a ruler who consciously lived out his saintly potential in the sure knowledge of heavenly rewards. Naturally, a portrayal of this kind is hardly exceptional in medieval hagiography, and thus it may appear superfluous to attempt to establish here a direct literary model or influence. Nevertheless, the manner in which the author of the *Passio* goes out of his way to interpret the reasons for Ólafr's exile in 1028 leads us, again, to the most influential hagiographic corpus of the late twelfth century, that of Thomas Becket.

In late November 1164, at the height of Becket's quarrel with Henry II, the Archbishop left England for exile in France. In the eyes of his critics, Becket's flight constituted a neglect of his episcopal responsibilities that was motivated by self-interest and cowardice rather than by any higher concerns for ecclesiastical liberties. But for Becket's hagiographers, writing in the years following his martyrdom, it was of utmost importance to present the Becket's flight and exile in France as an integral part of his journey towards martyrdom.[32] From the perspective of his biographers, Thomas did not flee to safety for reasons of self-interest but rather so that he might lay down his life at a time of his own choosing. For instance, William of Canterbury, who completed his *Life* of Becket in 1173, has the following to say on the subject:

> Fugit Thomas ne libertas ecclesiae periclitaretur; fugit ut probatior et perfectior moreretur. Fugit, non ut mercenarius, qui videt lupum venientem et dimittit oves et fugit, quia non deerant qui ministerium supplerent ecclesiasticum, sed ut oves de longe tueretur quos sub lupinus faucibus tueri non poterat; fugit, non praelium sed a praelio.[33]
>
> (Thomas fled to protect the Church's liberty from danger. He fled so that he could die more proven and perfect. He fled, not as a mercenary, who sees the wolf coming and leaves the sheep and flees, since those who could supply ecclesiastical ministry were not lacking, but in order to tend from afar the sheep who he was unable to tend under the jaws of the wolf. He fled from the battle but did not flee the battle.)[34]

In the *Passio Olavi* the king's flight into exile is interpreted within the same parameters of 'justified flight'. By leaving his patrimony for exile in Russia the King is not shirking his royal responsibilities. On the contrary, Ólafr's exile prepares the ground for his eventual return and martyrdom at a divinely ordained time. This is made explicit in the *Passio*: 'At length refined by the fire of persecution and exile, found acceptable and worthy to sustain greater trials, prompted by divine inspiration,

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[31] *A History of Norway*, trans. by Kunin, ed. by Phelpstead, p. 30.

[32] See the chapter on exile in M. Staunton's forthcoming monograph on the Becket biographers.

[33] *MTB*, I, 40.

[34] *The Lives of Thomas Becket*, selected sources trans. and ann. by Michael Staunton, Manchester Medieval Sources Series (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 119.

he returned by way of Sweden to his native land.'[35] Ólafr acts out the role allotted to him by divine will, and he himself chooses the most appropriate moment for his preordained martyrdom.

There can be little doubt that the author of the *Passio Olavi* adopts here similar justifications for Ólafr's exile as those used by Becket's biographers. There are also some intriguing parallels between his use of scriptural references and those adopted by the early writers on Becket. Thus when Ólafr has undergone baptism in Rouen he at 'once became a different man and, as the apostle says, was buried with Christ into baptism by death'.[36] The first part of this sentence alludes to I Samuel 6. 10 where Saul is transformed into a new man when anointed by the Prophet Samuel.[37] This is a common theme in twelfth-century narratives relating to spiritual conversions to a more Christian life, and it appears frequently in the Becket corpus at the point when Thomas is consecrated as Archbishop of Canterbury.[38] Thus William of Canterbury's *Life* tells that Becket was 'as if transformed into another man, he became more restrained, more watchful, more frequent in prayer'. Still on the subject of Becket's conversion William adds that few were aware that he 'served as a soldier under the breastplate of faith'.[39] This is an allusion to I Thessalonians 5. 8: 'But since we belong to the day, let us be sober, and put on the breastplate of faith and love, and for a helmet the hope of salvation.' The same biblical allusion appears in the *Passio* at the point when Ólafr returns from his exile in Russia: 'Clad in the breastplate of faith, girded with the sword of the spirit which is the word of God, in honour and dishonour, evil report and good report, with the armour of righteousness on the right hand and the left, the illustrious preacher steadfastly sowed the word of faith wherever he went, ready to suffer any persecution for Christ's sake.'[40]

Although there is scant reason to postulate a direct textual influence here from the Becket corpus, it is nevertheless noteworthy that the author of the *Passio* adopts scriptural passages that allude to both religious illumination and spiritual journey. This is of interest because it underlines a feature in the *Passio* that has been hitherto neglected, namely Ólafr's spiritual progression, beginning with his conversion in Rouen and culminating in the King's decision to return from exile in Russia. In other words, the *Passio* makes it clear that Ólafr's sanctity did not rest on his martyrdom alone. His life was that of a confessor who refrained from temptations and 'gave his mind to heavenly pleasures'.[41] In addition to the qualities often associated with confessors, the work portrays Ólafr as a *rex iustus* who cares for justice as well as

[35] *A History of Norway*, trans. by Kunin, ed. by Phelpstead, p. 30.

[36] *A History of Norway*, trans. by Kunin, ed. by Phelpstead, p. 29.

[37] The second part refers to Romans 6. 4; Ephesians 5. 26.

[38] Staunton, 'Thomas Becket's Conversion', pp. 206–10.

[39] *MTB*, I, 10; *The Lives of Thomas Becket*, trans. and ann. by Staunton, p. 67.

[40] *A History of Norway*, trans. by Kunin, ed. by Phelpstead, p. 30.

[41] *A History of Norway*, trans. by Kunin, ed. by Phelpstead, p. 27.

the spread and protection of Christianity. Throughout, however, he is confronted by implacable enemies who stand in the way of his good works: 'Without doubt, it was given to him not only to believe in Christ but also to suffer for his sake. Not only was he ready to suffer, not only ready to yield up the crown of temporal kingship for Christ's sake, but he also desired to win the glory of everlasting felicity through the crown of martyrdom.'[42] In this utterance the twofold claims of Ólafr to sanctity, his suffering and his eventual martyrdom at Stiklastaðir, are highlighted. The persecutions that Ólafr had endured in Norway led directly to his physical, as opposed to his spiritual, martyrdom: 'he had many trials and tribulations to endure from the people, until at length he could not oppose the multitude of the evils'.[43] Ólafr, led by the memory of his past, returns to Norway.

Jennifer O'Reilly has shown how the early Becket biographers were keen to emphasize the double nature of Becket's martyrdom.[44] Although the Archbishop's violent death in Canterbury Cathedral and the profusion of his posthumous miracles attested to his saintly status, the biographers also brought into play Becket's personal sanctity during his life. A key feature in this respect was Becket's stubborn stand for his just cause in the face of his enemies' persecutions: 'It is possible to discern a story of spiritual progress in the biographers' revelation that growing opposition sharpened the archbishop's sense of his own vocation, leading him to confess past weaknesses and renew his dedication.'[45] This is precisely the model adopted in the *Passio Olavi* and, as in the case of Becket, it is the time in exile that is pivotal for the saint's progress from spiritual to physical martyrdom.

As noted, Archbishop Eysteinn of Nidaros, the most notable champion of ecclesiastical rights in twelfth-century Scandinavia, is believed to be the author of the surviving version of *Passio et miracula beati Olavi*. The exact date of its composition has, however, not been established with any certainty. Erik Gunnes, the leading authority on Archbishop Eysteinn, has postulated that Eysteinn wrote an earlier redaction in the 1160s which he then reworked sometime after 1176/78.[46] It is certain, however, that Eysteinn wrote the *Passio* while he was Archbishop of Trondheim between 1161 and 1188. Considering the apparent influence from the Becket corpus on the *Passio* I believe the dating of the work (in its present form) can now be narrowed to the years *c*. 1173–88. Particularly interesting in this context is the period 1180–83 which Eysteinn spent in exile in England following King Sigurðr Sigurðsson's decisive victory over King Magnús Erlingsson (whom the Archbishop had supported) in 1179. For a part of this time Eysteinn stayed at Bury St Edmund's and it is not diffi-

[42] *A History of Norway*, trans. by Kunin, ed. by Phelpstead, p. 30.

[43] *A History of Norway*, trans. by Kunin, ed. by Phelpstead, p. 30.

[44] J. O'Reilly, 'The Double Martyrdom of Thomas Becket: Hagiography or History?', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, 7 (1985), 185–247.

[45] O'Reilly, 'Double Martyrdom', p. 209.

[46] E. Gunnes, 'Om hvordan Passio Olavi ble til', *Maal og Minne*, 1–2 (1973), 1–11.

cult to imagine that that there he became acquainted with the Becket biographies. Further, it is likely that Becket's exile and eventual fate would have resonated with Eysteinn himself. Like the Canterbury martyr, he had left his archbishopric as a result of a dispute with a king who was less than sympathetic to ecclesiastical independence. It is worth noting that when Eysteinn returned from exile he introduced Becket into the liturgical calendar of his archbishopric.[47] In addition it has been argued that Eysteinn brought to the construction of Nidaros Cathedral architectural features that he had encountered while visiting Becket's shrine in Canterbury Cathedral.[48]

The Archbishops of Nidaros stood in special relation to Saint Ólafr. Thus in 1162 Eysteinn, as the guardian of the saint's relics, had crowned Magnús Erlingsson in Nidaros Cathedral.[49] Although a royal saint and as such intimately linked with the Norwegian crown, Saint Ólafr also symbolized the independence and identity of the newly founded archbishopric of Nidaros. For Eysteinn, waiting out his time in England, the parallels between the exiles of King Ólafr and Thomas Becket would have been obvious. Like the English archbishop, Ólafr 'undertook to fight for the sake of justice and equity'. Both had returned from exile and both had faced martyrdom for their cause. For the exiled Eysteinn it must have seemed eminently possible that he would suffer the same fate as the two famous martyrs.

In the 1220s the Icelandic chieftain Snorri Sturluson wrote his *Separate Saga of King Ólafr Haraldsson* which he made, a decade or so later, the centre-piece of *Heimskringla*, the great cycle about the Norwegian kings. Unlike the short *Passio*, Snorri's account of Ólafr's life was not intended as a work of hagiography. The *Separate Saga* bears all the hallmarks of a secular saga inasmuch as it revolves around Ólafr's disputes with Norwegian magnates and foreign rulers such as King Canute the Great who eventually engineered his downfall at the battle of Stiklastaðir. That said, however, Snorri Sturluson was acutely aware of both the saintly and royal dimensions to Ólafr's character.[50] According to Snorri, it is during Ólafr's exile in

[47] *Ordo Nidrosiensis ecclesiae Orubók*, ed. by L. Gjerløw, Libri liturgici Provinciae Nidrosiensis Mediae Aevi, 2 (Oslo: Norsk historisk kjeldeskrift-institutt, 1968), pp. 30–31. A. Duggan, 'The Cult of St Thomas in the Thirteenth Century', in *St Thomas Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford*, ed. by M. Jancey (Hereford: Friends of Hereford Cathedral, 1982), pp. 21–44 (p. 29). On Archbishop Eysteinn in general, see E. Gunnes, *Erkebiskop Øystein: statsman og kirkebygger* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1996).

[48] Gerhard Fischer, *Erkebispestol og Bispesete 1153–1953*, vol. I of *Domkirken i Trondheim: Kirkebygget i middelaldern*, 4 vols (Oslo: Forlaget og Landogkirke, 1965), pp. 127–34. See, however, the more skeptical stance taken by Gunnar Danbolt, *Nidarosdomen fra kristkirke til nasjonalmonument* (Oslo: Andersen og Butenschøn, 1997), pp. 92–93.

[49] E. Vandvik, 'Magnus Erlingsson Kroningseid', *Norsk historisk tidskrift*, 34 (1946–48), 625–43.

[50] Sverrir Tómasson, 'Snorri Sturluson als Hagiograph', in *Snorri Sturluson: Beiträge zu Werk un Rezeption*, ed. by Hans Fix, Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, 18 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1998), pp. 275–86.

Russia that his sanctity begins to take centre stage. The following passage, which recounts the exile of Ólafr, illuminates this theme:

> Svá er sagt at Ólafr konungr var siðlátr ok bœnrœkinn til guðs alla stund ævi sinnar. En síðan er hann fann at ríki hans þvarr en mótstǫðumenn efldusk, þá lagði hann allan hug á þat at gera guðs þjónustu; dvalði hann þá ekki frá aðrar áhyggjur eða þat starf sem hann hafði áðr með hǫndum haft, því at hann hafð alla þá stund er hann sat í konungdóminum starfat þat er honum þótti mest nytsemð at vera, fyrst at friða ok frela landit af áþján útlendra hǫfðingja, en síðan at snúa landsfólkinu á trú rétta ok þar með at setja lǫg ok landsrétt.[51]
>
> (It is related that King Olaf was distinguished all his life for pious habits, and zeal in his prayers to God. But afterwards, when he saw his own power diminished, and that of his adversaries augmented, he turned all his mind to God's service; for he was not distracted by other thoughts, or by the labour he formerly had upon his hands, for during all the time he sat upon the throne he was endeavouring to promote what was most useful: and first to free and protect the country from foreign chief's oppressions, then to convert the people to rightful faith; and also to establish law and the rights of the country.)[52]

Here, for the first time in the saga, Snorri Sturluson addresses Saint Ólafr's religious life and royal virtues. The exile in Russia provides Snorri with an opportunity to reflect on the nature of Ólafr's kingship which, in turn, is intrinsically associated with his saintly qualities. The amalgamation of these two aspects — the nature of kingship and sanctity — are most potently expressed in a dream-vision that Ólafr experiences during his exile. In this vision Saint Ólafr's kinsman and predecessor on the throne, Ólafr Tryggvason (995–1000), exhorts him to return to Norway and fight for his kingdom. God has granted Norway to Ólafr as his patrimony and hence it is his duty to return and retrieve the country from foreign usurpers. Death in battle might result, but in that instance 'God will give open testimony that the kingdom is thine by property'.[53] This vision, according to Snorri, persuades the King to leave the comfort of his exile and confront his enemies in Norway. From this moment onwards Ólafr's saintly qualities become more apparent, not least through the miracles he begins to perform.[54]

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[51] For convenience's sake I have chosen to cite the identical passage in *Heimskringla*, ed. by Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson, 3 vols, Íslenzk fornrit, 26–28 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 1941–51), II (1945), 328.

[52] *Snorri Sturluson, Heimskringla. The Olafs Sagas*, trans. by Samuel Laing, rev. by Jacqueline Simpson, 2 vols (London: Dent; New York: Dutton, 1964), II, 338–39.

[53] *Snorri Sturluson, Heimskringla*, trans. by Laing, rev. by Simpson, II, 346.

[54] Further on Ólafr's exile according to Snorri, see Sverrir Tómasson, 'The Hagiography of Snorri Sturluson Especially in the Great Saga of St Olaf', in *Saints and Sagas: A Symposium*, ed. by H. Bekker-Nielsen (Odense: Odense University Press, 1994), pp. 49–71 (pp. 64–67). S. Bagge, *Society and Politics in Snorri Sturluson's Heimskringla* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), pp. 184–86.

Thus Ólafr's exile in Russia provided Snorri Sturluson with the opportunity to elaborate on more abstract ideas about kingship and sanctity. Indeed it is at this point that Ólafr himself becomes more reflective: 'after King Olaf came to Russia he was very thoughtful, and weighted what counsel he now should follow'.[55] The King toys with the idea of giving up his royal status and becoming a monk but in the end resolves to return to Norway and leave 'his cause to God, praying that he would do what to him seemed best'.[56] Gone is the bravado of the younger Ólafr, most succinctly expressed in his long speech to his stepfather, Sigurðr Sýr, where he explains his motivation for his earlier return to Norway in 1015: on this first occasion, the kingdom is the preserve of his family and thus it should be his by right.[57] Ólafr mentions neither his royal duty nor his place in God's unfolding plan. His later 'divine illumination' (in the words of the *Passio*) only takes place while he is in exile.

Exile played an important role in the careers of the Scandinavian rulers discussed in this essay. For their hagiographers, or even historians like Adam of Bremen and Snorri Sturluson, the absence of the ruler from his patrimony provided an ideal opportunity to highlight spiritual/religious progression. Adam of Bremen's account of Haraldr Bluetooth's death among the Slavs emphasized the King's spiritual as well as physical martyrdom while his son's thirteen-year exile was presented as a divine punishment which ultimately leads to his conversion to Christianity. In the twelfth-century hagiographic literature on Saint Ólafr of Norway and Saint Magnús of Orkney the theme of exile appears to owe much to the influence of the early Becket corpus. In Robert's *vita* and Eysteinn's *Passio* exile represents a time of transformation. Even in Snorri Sturluson's 'secular' saga the same pattern prevails. In the minds of learned medieval writers the experience of physical exile was a catalyst for spiritual progression in the careers of these Viking Age rulers.

[55] *Snorri Sturluson, Heimskringla*, trans. by Laing, rev. by Simpson, II, 345.

[56] *Snorri Sturluson, Heimskringla*, trans. by Laing, rev. by Simpson, II, 345.

[57] *Heimskringla*, ed. by Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson, II, 43–45.

The English Exile of Archbishop Øystein of Nidaros (1180–83)

ANNE J. DUGGAN

Exile has a long history in the Latin West. In the Roman Empire, exile from the court, from the city of Rome, from politics, even from the boundaries of the Empire was a recognized penalty, usually for political 'crimes'. One of the more celebrated exiles is the Roman poet Ovid, who composed some of his most beautiful and evocative poetry when forced into exile in Pontus in AD 8. Forced exile of this kind could, as Ovid showed, be put to good use. In the strictly Christian framework, pilgrimage was a form of withdrawal from home and office, sometimes voluntary, sometimes imposed for sin or crime. In Celtic lands, *peregrinatio pro Christo* contained elements of both; and, like Ovid's exile to the East Mediterranean, those of Columkill (Columba), Aidan (d. 651), and Columbanus were extraordinarily fruitful in their consequences. Their penitential exiles became missionary progresses which left indelible imprints on the religious and monastic history of the medieval West, from Iona and Lindisfarne to St Gall and Bobbio. Later still, the crusading movement itself grew out of the penitential pilgrimage. Exile, then, has a long history in what one may call the Latin tradition. And its consequences, both for the exile and for those he travelled among or returned to, were often significant. For travel from and to one's place of origin opens more than the physical avenues of the road or track. The traveller encountered new peoples, new ideas, and impressive cultural or religious experiences; he could make new friends and influential contacts. Western Europe was both bound together and opened up by travellers of all kinds. Pilgrims to Rome and the Holy Places or to Compostella brought back artefacts; appellants to Rome brought back new legal practices; young scholars from Paris or Bologna brought back new theology and new law.

One striking example of this fruitful interchange is the three-year exile of Øystein (Latin: Augustinus), archbishop of Nidaros (now Trondheim: 1157 [cons. 1161]–

88).[1] He spent the better part of three years (summer 1180–April/May 1183) in exile in England, following the defeat of the eighteen-year-old King Magnus Erlingsson of Norway by his rival, and eventual supplanter, Sverre (1177/84–1202), whom Øystein had refused to crown.[2] According to the *Sverris Saga* he arrived in 'summer' and spent 'three winters' in the land,[3] but the *Saga* provides no secure dates. Two contemporary English chroniclers, Roger of Howden and William of Newburgh, both from Yorkshire, place the beginning of his exile *sub anno* 1180, but they, equally, are silent about his place of residence in the English kingdom. Jocelin of Brakelond, however, the monk-chronicler of Bury St Edmunds in Suffolk, provides highly significant detail. After reporting the death of Abbot Hugh (1157–80),[4] Jocelin recorded that, 'During the vacancy in the abbacy, Augustine [Øystein], archbishop of Norway, stayed with us in the abbot's lodgings, receiving ten shillings daily from the incomes of the abbacy, by order of the king'.[5] This places Øystein at Bury St Edmunds during the vacancy which preceded Abbot Samson's election, that is, some time between Hugh's death (14 November 1180) and Samson's election (21 February 1182). Moreover, he was there as the King's guest, not the abbey's, and he lived in the abbot's residence.

That information can be refined much further. Since the Abbot's incomes were in the King's hands during the vacancy, the Exchequer Rolls for the two successive years, 1180–81 and 1181–82,[6] record expenditures from that income made by the

[1] Consecrated by Alexander III: Wolfgang Seegrün, *Das Papsttum und Skandinavien, bis zur Vollendung der nordischen Kirchenorganisation (1164)*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte Schleswig-Holsteins, 51 (Neumünster: Wachholtz, 1967), p. 184. For Øystein, see also the essay by Haki Antonsson in this volume.

[2] For an excellent survey of the Norwegian background, see Torben K. Nielsen, 'Pope Innocent III and Denmark, Sweden, and Norway', *Analecta Romana: Instituti Danici*, 28 (2001), 7–32 (pp. 29–30 nn. 92 and 96).

[3] *Sverris saga*, ed. by G. Indrebø (Kristiania: Norsk Historisk Kjeldeskriftinstitutt, 1920), pp. 84–85, line 2 (cited by Arne Odd Johnsen, 'Om erkebiskop Øysteins eksil 1180–1183', *Det Kongelige norske Videnskabers Selskabs Skrifter*, 5 (1951), 3–24 (p. 5 and n. 31). (I am very grateful to Professor Torben Nielsen for obtaining a copy of this article for me.)

[4] Hugh died on 14 November 1180, following an accident on 8 September 1180: *The Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond*, ed. by H. E. Butler, Nelson's Medieval Classics (London: Nelson, 1949), p. 7 and n. 4.

[5] *Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond*, ed. by Butler, pp. 15–16: 'Uacante abbatia perhendinauit Augustinus archiepiscopus Norweie in domibus abbatis, habens per preceptum regis singulis diebus .x. solidos de denariis abbatie.' The foundation (*c*. 1216), by Roger FitzOsbert, of the small Augustinian priory of St Olave at Herringfleet in Suffolk, has been linked to Øystein's residence at Bury St Edmunds, which is nearby: Johnsen, *Øysteins eksil*, p. 16; D. Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses in England and Wales* (London: Longman, 1971), pp. 142, 172–76.

[6] The financial years ran from Michaelmas (29 Sept.) to Michaelmas.

King's custodians, Robert de Cockfield and Robert de Flamville. In Pipe Roll 27 Henry II, for 1180–81, the entry reads, 'And in maintenance of the archbishop of Norway £35, from the vigil of Saint Laurence [9 August 1181] to the day of Saint Luke the Evangelist [18 October 1181], that is for 70 days, by the king's writ'.[7] In the following year, Pipe Roll 28 Henry II, for 1181–82, the entry reads, 'And in payment to the archbishop of Norway, £59 10s. for 17 weeks, by the king's writ'.[8] This works out at ten shillings a day for a period of 189 days, from 9 August 1181 to 14 February 1182, a total of £94 10*s*.[9] These official records almost exactly corroborate Jocelin's account that Øystein was paid ten shillings per day from the abbot's incomes. Although Knut Gjerset thought this 'a small allowance',[10] it was the same as the maintenance assigned to the former Abbot Hugh during his final illness[11] and worked out at about ten times the income considered sufficient for a knight, reckoned at £20 per annum.

Øystein won golden opinions from Jocelin. As he tells it, the Norwegian prelate's presence turned out to be providential for the monastery, for he became a valuable independent witness to the internal process by which the monks had selected the names of three candidates for the abbacy, which were to be submitted to the King. Although Øystein is not mentioned in the detailed account of the cat-and-mouse election process which took place in Henry II's presence at Bishop's Waltham (Hampshire) on 21 February 1182,[12] Jocelin's statement makes it plain that the Archbishop of Nidaros had travelled with the party of monks, including Jocelin, which had carried the community's nominations to King Henry in mid-February 1182, that he described to the King the care with which the selection process had been carried out at Bury St Edmunds, and that he supported the monks' request for a 'free' election: 'he was very valuable to us in securing our free election, bearing witness to our merits, and declaring publicly in the king's presence what he had seen and

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[7] 'Et in corredio archiepiscopi Norwegie .xxxii. l. a vigilia Sancti Laurentii usque ad diem Sancti Luce Evangeliste, scilicet de .lxx. diebus per breve regis': *Pipe Roll 27 Henry II*, PRS, 30 (London: Wyman, 1909), p. 93.

[8] 'Et in liberatione archiepiscopi de Norweia, .lix. l. & .x. s. de .xvii. septimanis, per breve regis': *Pipe Roll 28 Henry II*, PRS, 31 (London: Wyman, 1910), p. 74. The abbot had his house and staff; and he was responsible for the entertainment of all secular guests, including bishops, who were not priests or professed monks. During his absence from the monastery, the cellarer received all guests, of whatever condition, 'up to the number of 13 horses': *Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond*, ed. by Butler, p. 39.

[9] These figures correlate if it is assumed either that the first day was not counted or that the Vigil of St Laurence, which fell on Sunday in 1181, was transferred to 10 August.

[10] Knut Gjerset, *History of the Norwegian People* (New York: Macmillan, 1915), I, 383.

[11] *Pipe Roll 27 Henry II*, p. 93: 'Et in corredio abbatis de .vi. ebdomadis antequam moraretur .xxj. l.'

[12] *Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond*, ed. by Butler, pp. 21–23.

heard'.[13] Abbot Samson, one of the three nominees, was duly elected, but Øystein did not return to Bury St Edmunds. Pipe Roll 28 Henry II records an extension of the King's generosity, this time at the expense of the vacant diocese of Lincoln: 'And in payment to the archbishop of Nidaros for 168 days, £84, by the king's writ'.[14] Lincoln had been held by his illegitimate son Geoffrey, as bishop elect, from May 1173 until his resignation, under papal pressure, on 1 August 1181, which was formalized at Marlborough on 6 January 1182.[15] Øystein was thus slotted in to Lincoln when the Bury St Edmunds arrangement was terminated by the election of Abbot Samson, an election which he had facilitated. And the Lincoln arrangement persisted until *c.* 15 August 1182.[16]

What led King Henry to install Øystein in the abbot's lodgings after Hugh's death, maintained by funds from the abbatial incomes which would otherwise have come into his own hands, and to assign him ten shillings a day for a further twenty-four weeks from the bishopric of Lincoln, where he probably occupied the bishop's palace, are matters for speculation.[17] Henry's own natural inclinations might be expected to have been hostile to a runaway archbishop, with the example of his own Thomas Becket very fresh in his memory. But Henry had been forced by circumstance (and widespread criticism and the Great Rebellion of 1173–74) to embrace the cult of his former chancellor; and it might have suited him in the early 1180s to act in respect of the exiled Øystein as Louis VII of France had acted in respect of the exiled Thomas in the 1160s. But although he was clearly aligned with the reform party in the Norwegian Church, Øystein was the loyal supporter of a lawfully crowned king who owed his position, as did Henry himself, to inheritance through a

[13] *Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond*, ed. by Butler, p. 16: 'qui [Øystein] multum ualuit nobis ad habendam liberam electionem nostram, testimonium perhibens de bono, et publice protestans coram rege quod uiderat et audierat'.

[14] *Pipe Roll 28 Henry II*, p. 60: 'Et in liberatione archiepiscopi Nidrosiensis de .c. et .lxviij. diebus quater .xx. et iiij. l. per breve regis.'

[15] *English Episcopal Acta*, vol. I, *Lincoln, 1067–1185*, ed. by David M. Smith (London: Oxford University Press, 1980), pp. xxxvi–xxxvii, 182 no. 295; cf. Benedict of Peterborough, *The Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II and Richard I*, ed. by W. Stubbs, 2 vols, RS, 49, I, 271–72 (now recognized as the first draft of Roger of Howden's *Chronica*); Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, ed. by W. Stubbs, 4 vols, RS, 51, II, 254–55; R. W. Eyton, *Court, Household, and Itinerary of King Henry II* (London: Taylor, 1878), pp. 238, 246.

[16] Johnsen, *Øysteins eksil*, p. 13, points out that there had been earlier links between Lincoln and Norway: Bishop Þorlak of Skålholt (Iceland) studied there in the 1150s, and Bishop Pål in 1170; and Lincoln records reveal a number of Norse names from 1185 onwards (Håkon, Ulf, Audhild, Kolgrim, and others).

[17] *Antiphonarium Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae*, ed. by Lilli Gjerløw, Libri liturgici provinciae Nidrosiensis mediae aevi, 3 (Oslo: Norsk historisk kjeldeskrift-institutt, 1979), p. 221.

female from a royal grandfather.[18] Like Henry, young Magnus Erlingsson was not the son but the grandson of a king. Henry's patronage of his Archbishop might have had beneficial long-term consequences for relations between the two realms. At that point, Sverre, who is described pejoratively as a renegade priest in contemporary English chronicles, looked like a dangerous rebel.[19] There are some indications, however, that Henry's kindness had less elevated motives.

Before being honourably entertained as the King's guest at Bury St Edmunds and Lincoln, Øystein appeared in more uncertain company. At the exchequer in Michaelmas 1181, Walter FitzHugh, sheriff of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire, accounted for a payment of £20 'to the archbishop of Norway, for his maintenance, by the writ of Ranulf de Glanvill'.[20] This allowance on the county farm of Cambridge and Huntingdon would have covered forty days at the rate of ten shillings a day; but the sheriff may not have been as generous as the King, and the period covered could have been considerably longer.

This record puts a very different colouring on Øystein's initial reception. His first appearance in the public records is not as the guest of a religious community or of a bishop, as one would have expected, but in the charge of a local sheriff, in compliance with a writ from the Justiciar. These circumstances suggest that Øystein may have been taken into protective custody for a month or more in mid-1181, on the instructions of the royal officer who virtually ran the English government during Henry II's absence in France. The Norwegian prelate was kept under honourable guard, somewhere in Cambridgeshire or Huntingdonshire, until the King's will should be known; and it was Henry who assigned him first to Bury St Edmunds and then to Lincoln, where it was clear that he was the King's guest, not the Church's. The entertainment of the high-profile refugee thus became a royal charge; and the Norwegian Archbishop was not free to travel around the country at will.

But how did Øystein find himself in the custody of a royal sheriff in the middle of England? Had he been apprehended immediately on his arrival in the country, one would have expected to find him in the charge of the sheriff of a coastal county — Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, or Suffolk — not in the land-locked Cambridge and Huntingdon. And where was he during the year from mid-1180 to mid-1181? Here we enter the sphere of speculation. Øystein's arrival in the country was almost

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[18] Magnus Erlingsson's mother was Christina, daughter of King Sigurd the Pilgrim (d. 1130), who, as Snorri Sturluson told it in his *Heimskringla*, was 'the daughter of a king and queen born in lawful wedlock', which made Magnus the 'son of a queen and a lawfully married wife'.

[19] Benedict of Peterborough, *Chronicle of the Reigns*, I, 268: *presbiter Suerus*; cf. Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, II, 214; William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum anglicarum*, ed. by R. Howlett, *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, 4 vols, RS, 82, I, 231: *Qui [= Sverre], sacro ordine abjurato*.

[20] *Pipe Roll 27 Henry II*, p. 98: 'Et archiepiscopo de Norwegia ad procurationem suum .xx. l. per breve Randulfi de Glanvill.'

certainly clandestine. He had fled from Norway when the royal Norwegian fleet was destroyed by Sverre at Ilevolden on 27 May 1180. His flight had been sudden; there could have been no advance preparation; and he may have had to cross the North Sea in bad weather. Pipe Roll 26 Henry II (1179–80), drawn up in the first weeks of October 1180, has three pages recording the fines and amercements imposed by the King's justices on a large number of named individuals and whole communities along the north-eastern coast for pillaging or concealing the wreck of a Norwegian vessel which had foundered: 'pro concelatione rapine facte Norrensibus [. . .] de misericordia pro rapina navis Norrensium [. . .] de misericordia pro rapina navis Norrensium confracte.' The financial penalties amounted to the enormous sum of £136 6*s*. 8*d*., but the most heavily fined was Ralph of Redcar, upon whom an amercement of twenty marks was imposed.[21] The severity of his amercement suggests that he was the ringleader of the pillage; and, as Ferrer suggested in 1915, this fact points to a wreck on the notorious rocks at Redcar,[22] either in a gale or in heavy fog. Such occurrences were not unusual. The papal envoy Stephen of Orvieto, accompanied by Abbot William of Grimsby, had narrowly escaped shipwreck as they crossed from Stavanger to Yorkshire in 1163/64.

Whether or not Øystein was a victim of the Redcar wreck, his choice of England as a place of refuge is readily explicable. Numerous links, monastic, cultural, and commercial, connected Norway to England.[23] There was a flourishing trade between the two countries: Norway exported its primary products, timber, fish, and fish-oil; England, in return, sent grain, honey, flour, and cloth.[24] Indeed, the Pipe Roll for 1178–79 recorded the imposition of amercements of half a mark (6*s*. 8*d*.) each on two men from (King's) Lynn and two men from Wiggenhall who had shipped grain without licence, all four of whom had gone to Norway;[25] while the following Roll, for 1179–80, records that Alan son of Mabel owed two Gerfalcons 'for licence to transport grain to Norway'.[26] Equally close and regular were the links between English monasteries and new foundations in the Scandinavian kingdom. Tore Nyberg

[21] *Pipe Roll 26 Henry II*, PRS, 29 (London: Wyman, 1908), pp. 67–69.

[22] *Early Yorkshire Charters*, ed. by William Farrer (Edinburgh: Ballantyne, Hanson, 1915), II, 14.

[23] Lars Österlin, *Churches of Northern Europe in Profile: A Thousand Years of Anglo-Nordic Relations* (Norwich: Canterbury, 1995).

[24] M. M. Postan, *Medieval Trade and Finance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), pp. 105–06, 119 (timber), 203 (grain, honey, flour, and cloth: citing *Sverris saga*), 326 (grain, citing Haakon Hakonson's speech 1138 on English imports and importers). See also Alexander Bugge, *Den Norske Traelasthandel Historie*, 2 vols (Skien: [n. pub.], 1925–[33]), I (1925), 138–86.

[25] *Pipe Roll 25 Henry II*, PRS, 28 (London: Wyman, 1907), p. 6. They are named as Alured and Siward from Lynn and Simon son of Peter and Roger Passelewe from nearby Wiggenhall.

[26] *Pipe Roll 26 Henry II*, p. 23: *pro licentia ducendi bladum in Norweiam*.

points to Anglo-Saxon involvement in the foundation of Benedictine houses on the island of Selja,[27] at Nordnes, across the bay of Vågen from Bergen (Munkeliv, early twelfth century),[28] and on the island of Munkholmen, north of Trondheim (Nidarholm, *c*. 1100);[29] and at about the same time, Odense in Denmark was colonized from Evesham (*c*. 1095), under Abbot Walter (1077–1104).[30] A Winchester connection can be seen at the cathedral church at Stavanger, which enshrined relics of Winchester's Saint Swithun and was dedicated to his patronage; and some link with Bury St Edmunds can be presumed from the existence of a church dedicated to the English martyr King Edmund on the island of Hovedøya before the arrival of Cistercian monks in 1147.[31]

These connections and influences continued through the twelfth century. The unfortunate Bishop Reinald of Stavanger who was hanged in 1135 was 'English'; English abbeys played an important role in the implantation of Cistercian monasticism in the region. The first Cistercian house in Norway was Lyse, in the Lyse Fjord, near Bergen, colonized in 1146 by monks from Fountains in Yorkshire;[32] the second, Hovedö, established a year later on the island of Hovedøya in Oslo Fjord, was populated by monks from Kirkstead in Lincolnshire, itself a daughter of Fountains.[33] Despite its distance from Nidaros, Hovedö would almost certainly have been known to Øystein, for he had been parish priest in Konghelle in the Oslo diocese in the 1150s, before nomination to the archiepiscopal see; and he later founded an Augustinian monastery at Kastelle on the outskirts of the town.[34] In seeking refuge in England, Øystein would almost certainly have sought out known contacts such as these, from whom he could expect a warm welcome. Of the various possibilities, two immediately spring to mind: the Cistercian abbey of Meaux in the East Riding of Yorkshire and the Augustinian abbey of Wellow by Grimsby in Lincolnshire. Both

[27] Where a bishopric (moved to Bergen *c.* 1170) had been established under Bernhard 'the Saxon'. The first identifiable church was dedicated to Saint Alban — perhaps by Saxon refugees from St Albans in Hertfordshire, in the wake of the Norman Conquest of England in 1066: Tore Nyberg, *Monasticism in North-Western Europe, 800–1200* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 70–72.

[28] Nyberg, *Monasticism*, pp. 73–75.

[29] Nyberg, *Monasticism*, pp. 74–76.

[30] Nyberg, *Monasticism*, pp. 55–56. There, too, was a church dedicated to Saint Alban, whose relics, according to Matthew Paris (mid-thirteenth century), were restored to St Albans: *Gesta abbatum Sancti Albani [. . .] a Thoma Walsingham [. . .] compilata*, 3 vols, in *Chronica monasterii S. Albani*, ed. by H. T. Riley, 12 vols in 7, RS, 28, I, 12–19.

[31] Nyberg, *Monasticism*, p. 144.

[32] Founded by Bishop Sigurd/Siward of Bergen (1135/39–56), its first abbot was Rannulph: Nyberg, *Monasticism*, pp. 140–43.

[33] Nyberg, *Monasticism*, pp. 144–45.

[34] Nyberg, *Monasticism*, p. 224; see below, Appendix, no. 4.

houses are near the coast, on either side of the estuary of the Humber; and both had close ties with Norway. Meaux's abbot in 1180 was none other than Philip, Hovedö's second abbot, who had returned to England because of the severity of the Norwegian winter.[35] The Norwegian affiliations of Wellow were manifested not only in its dedication to Saint Augustine and Saint Olaf,[36] but in the activities of its abbot, William. He had been present when Erling Skakke, father of King Magnus, founded the Augustinian monastery of the Holy Spirit on Halsnøy Island (dioc. Bergen), between Bergen and Stavanger, in 1164;[37] and his presence at the momentous coronation of King Magnus at Bergen in 1163 may be inferred from the fact that he travelled back from Bergen with the papal legate Stephen of Orvieto, whose narrow escape from shipwreck is graphically recorded by Reginald of Durham.[38] In his precipitate flight in 1180, Øystein might well have inclined to the Cistercian house then governed by a former abbot from the Oslo Fjord, or to the Augustinian abbey whose former abbot he had almost certainly met sixteen or seventeen years before. Indeed, since William may have survived as abbot until *c*. 1175, the Norwegian Archbishop may not have known of his death.[39] Either of these destinations would fit well with the suggestion of shipwreck in the vicinity of Redcar. One could suppose that, having crossed the North Sea from Bergen, Øystein's ship was shadowing the Yorkshire coast, making for Grimsby, when it was blown onto the rocks at Redcar.

Whether or not Øystein was involved in the great wreck, he had arrived on the north-eastern coast clandestinely in summer 1180; and his whereabouts until his appearance in the charge of one of Henry II's sheriffs remains a mystery. Nevertheless, one may speculate that he obtained refuge at one or more of the great religious houses in Yorkshire or Lincolnshire: Fountains, mother house of Lyse, across the fjord from Bergen, or Kirkstead, mother house of Hovedö in Oslo Fjord, or Meaux or Wellow. One might suggest that he spent the autumn and winter of 1180–81 in one or more of these houses and that he was on his way south along the Roman Ermine Street, perhaps to London or Canterbury, when he was picked up by the sheriff of Cambridge and Huntingdon. Henry II ran a very tight ship. Thomas Becket had found it impossible to flee from England in mid-1164, and it was only with the

[35] *Chronica monasterii de Melsa a fundatione usque ad annum 1396*, ed. by E. A. Bond, 3 vols, RS, 43, I, 159, 178; *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales, 940–1216*, ed. by D. Knowles, C. N. L. Brooke, and V. C. M. London (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), p. 138.

[36] Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 179.

[37] Nyberg, *Monasticism*, p. 224.

[38] Reginald of Durham (d. 1177), *Reginaldi monachi Dunelmensis Libellus de admirandis beati Cuthberti virtutibus quae novellis patratae sunt temporibus*, ed. by James Raine, Surtees Society, 1 (Durham: Surtees Society, 1835), pp. 108–09.

[39] He occurs 1148x66, with a vacancy recorded in July 1175: *Heads of Religious Houses*, ed. by Knowles, Brooke, and London, p. 189.

connivance of the Gilbertine order that he escaped in October of that year. A foreign prelate would have been instantly recognized, and unlicensed travellers were not welcome. Pilgrims were expected to wear recognizable dress; merchants had to be licensed; so also had papal envoys and messengers of every kind.

Jocelin of Brakelond and the Exchequer records transmit the most specific and reliable evidence about Øystein's exile, but they provide no context at all. For that, we must turn to contemporary northern chroniclers, Roger of Howden and William of Newburgh, the one a royal clerk and justice, the other an Augustinian canon regular. Roger recorded Øystein's excommunication of 'Swerre the priest' and his flight to England, *sub anno* 1180, but he supplies no details of his stay in the country.[40] This is compensated, to some extent, by the three-page summary of Norwegian history from *c*. 1100, which is introduced to explain the Øystein crisis.[41] His fellow Yorkshire man, William, from the Augustinian priory of Newburgh, devotes a whole chapter of his *History of English Affairs* (iii. 6) to a more lurid version of the rise of 'Sverre, the tyrant of Norway'. Without naming Øystein, however, he describes him as 'a great man' (*vir magnus*) who was forced from his country because he refused to be coerced into 'pouring the sacred oil [of consecration] on that accursed head'.[42] One might ask how Roger and William came by their information, and the likeliest source is, directly or indirectly, Øystein himself. It is almost certainly through him, or members of his entourage, that they obtained the detailed chronology of Norwegian affairs. Their outlook certainly reflects that of the Archbishop at that moment: they are extremely hostile to Sverre, and there is no hint of Øystein's repatriation and reconciliation with the new King (1183), although Roger of Howden records Sverre's triumph, *sub anno* 1184, somewhat laconically: 'In Norway, after killing King Magnus, Sverre obtained the kingdom.'[43]

Øystein's exile, therefore, left significant traces in English records; but not only there. There is another aspect of his stay in England which has passed almost unnoticed by English historians, and that is the possibility — indeed high probability — that it was through his agency that a group of eleven decretal letters received by him as Archbishop of Nidaros found their way into two English decretal collections compiled in the late 1180s–early 1190s.[44] The letters are transmitted in two related

[40] Benedict of Peterborough, *Chronicle of the Reigns*, I, 268–69; cf. Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, II, 214–15. The *Chronica* (II, 215) adds the comment, 'Est autem sciendum quod iste Magnus rex primus fuit rex coronatus de regno Norweiae'.

[41] Benedict of Peterborough, *Chronicle of the Reigns*, I, 266–68; cf. Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, II, 212–14.

[42] William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum anglicarum*, I, 228–32, esp. p. 231: 'Verum ille [Øystein] cum esset vir magnus, et neque precibus neque minarum terroribus flecteretur ut caput execrabile sacra unctione perfunderet, ab eodem patria pulsus est.'

[43] Benedict of Peterborough, *Chronicle of the Reigns*, I, 320.

[44] See the Appendix, below.

collections, *Cottoniana* (the Cotton Collection, BL, Cotton MSS, Vitellius E. xiii),[45] and *Petrihusensis*, the fragments preserved in manuscript paste-downs in the library of Peterhouse, Cambridge.[46] I said 'generally ignored by English historians', but not by German and Scandinavian. In an important paper published in *Deutches Archiv* in 1938, Walther Holtzmann published the eleven letters from *Cottoniana* addressed to the Archbishop of Nidaros, either alone or with his suffragans, and four of them have been re-edited, with the benefit of collation with *Petrihusensis*, in *Decretales ineditae saeculi XII*, by Stanley Chodorow and Charles Duggan in 1982.[47] All were issued by Alexander III, and all relate to problems presented to Alexander by envoys of Øystein himself. None of them, in fact, arose from litigation in Norway. They are all, strictly speaking, consultations: papal responses to questions raised by the Archbishop, almost certainly in the early years of his pontificate, after the election at Bergen of the young Magnus Erlingsson as King of Norway in 1161. His election, which was followed in 1163 by consecration and coronation (the first of a Norwegian king), brought a period of relative peace to a land which had been distracted by the civil war for thirty years, following the death of Sigurd the Pilgrim in 1130.[48] The young Magnus was the grandson (through his mother, Christina), not the son, of

[45] BL, Cotton MSS, Vitellius E. xiii, fols 204–88: see Charles Duggan, *Twelfth-Century Decretal Collections and their Importance in English History* (London: Athlone Press, 1963), pp. 104–08.

[46] Cambridge, Peterhouse, MSS (now lodged in Cambridge University Library) 193, final quire; 114, first and final quires; 193, first quire; 203, final quire; 180, first and final quires: see Duggan, *Decretal Collections*, pp. 108–10. Although both collections were classified as 'primitive' according to the conventions then being applied (Duggan, *Decretal Collections*, p. 108), Charles Duggan has revised that judgement in the light of their logical structure, and they are now regarded as systematic: C. Duggan, 'Decretal Collections: From Gratian's *Decretum* to the *Compilationes Antiquae.* The Making of the "New Law"', in *History of Medieval Canon Law*, ed. by Kenneth Pennington and Wilfried Hartmann (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America, in press), at n. 17.

[47] Walther Holtzmann, 'Krone und Kirche in Norwegen im 12. Jahrhundert (Englische analekten III)', *Deutches Archiv*, 2 (1938), 341–400 (pp. 383–400); *Decretales ineditae saeculi XII*, ed. and rev. by S. Chodorow and C. Duggan, from the papers of W. Holtzmann, Monumenta Iuris Canonici, 4 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1982), pp. 149–57, nos 86–89.

[48] The absence of any clear principle of dynastic succession to the crown created fertile ground for fratricidal strife as multiple heirs (and their rivals) struggled to establish their ascendancy over the kingdom. Sigurd left two heirs: a son, Magnus, and a brother, Harald Gille. Magnus was blinded (1135) and died in 1139; Harald Gille was killed in 1137, leaving in his turn three sons as co-kings: Sigurd Mund (d. 1155, leaving a son, Hakon Herdebreid); Øystein (d. 1157); Inge *krókhryggr*, the hunchback (d. 3 Feb. 1161). Inge's death provided the opportunity for Jarl Erling Skakke, son-in-law of Sigurd the Pilgrim (he had married his daughter, Christina) to claim the throne for his young son Magnus. Seegrün, *Das Papsttum*, pp. 184–85.

this same Sigurd, and the anointing and coronation were intended both to compensate for the boy's lack of royal patrilineal descent and to give security and stability to the royal office.[49] Øystein crowned the eight-year-old king at Bergen in 1163,[50] in the presence of a papal legate, Master Stephen of Orvieto,[51] and Magnus took an

[49] A point stressed in the thirteenth-century *Heimskringla (The Circle of the World)*, xvii. 21: Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla, or, the Lives of the Norse Kings*, trans. by Erling Monsen, with the assistance of A. H. Smith (Cambridge: Heffer, 1932), p. 725: 'Now here in the land is an archbishopric and it is a great and dignified honour for our land. Let us now increase its power still more and have a crowned king, no less than the Englishmen or the Danes.' The text is rendered somewhat differently in Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla, Sagas of the Norse Kings*, trans. by Samuel Laing, rev. by Peter Foote, Everyman's Library, 847 (London: Dent, 1961), p. 408. On these (and other English translations), see Diana Whaley, *Heimskringla: An Introduction* (London: Viking Society for Northern Research, University College, 1991), p. 49. For Snorri, see Whaley, *Heimskringla*, pp. 9–10, 29–40; cf. Sverre Bagge, *Society and Politics in Snorri Sturluson's Heimskringla* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), pp. 23–63.

[50] The date has been debated, but the consensus of current scholarship is for 1163: Seegrün, *Das Papsttum*, pp. 185–87 and n. 298; cf. Claus Krag, 'Skikkethed og arv I tronfølgeloven av 1163', *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 54 (1975), 153–80, and Edwin Torkelsen, 'Skikkethed og arv I tronfølgeloven av 1163', *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 57 (1978), 187–204. Snorri Sturluson makes Erling Skakke, Magnus's father, the prime mover: 'The conversation now took a more friendly turn; and Erling said, "Although Magnus was not chosen king according to what has been the old custom of this country, yet can you with your power give him consecration as king, as God's law prescribes, by anointing the king to sovereignty; and although I be neither a king, nor of kingly race, yet most of the kings, within my recollection, have not known the laws or the constitution of the country so well as I do. Besides, the mother of King Magnus is the daughter of a king and queen born in lawful wedlock, and Magnus is son of a queen and a lawfully married wife. Now if you will give him royal consecration, no man can take royalty from him. William Bastard was not a king's son; but he was consecrated and crowned king of England, and the royalty in England has ever since remained with his race, and all have been crowned. Svein Ulfson was not a king's son in Denmark, and still he was a crowned king, and his sons likewise, and all his descendants have been crowned kings. Now we have here in Norway an archiepiscopal seat, to the glory and honour of the country; let us also have a crowned king, as well as the Danes and Englishmen"' (*Heimskringla*, trans. by Laing/Foote, p. 408; cf. trans. by Monsen/Smith, p. 725).

[51] Seegrün, *Das Papsttum*, pp. 185–86; Benedict of Peterborough, *Chronicle of the Reigns*, II, 268. Compare Reginald of Durham, *De admirandis beati Cuthberti virtutibus*, p. 108, ch. 52: 'Ex remotis Romae partibus quidam domini papae legatus ad Britanniae fines advenerat, qui Noruuagae gentis barbariem praedicandi gratia, convertisse vel correxisse debuerat. Cui idem papa Alexander mantum et mitram in ipsa legatione concesserat, et crucem coram illo anteferri et benedictiones de more episcopali, tam in clero quam in populo cui predicaturus erat, contulerat. Hic tamen cardinalis subdiaconus in Ecclesia Romana exstiterat, quem tot dignitatum honoribus ob populi reverentiam apostolica providentia consulte satis extulerat. Qui Stephanus vocabatur, et ad imperium domini sui prudenter egrediebatur. Noruuagiam ergo profectus est, et magnifice creditae sibi dispensationis officia, docendo, instruendo, commonendo, et praedicando, exsecutus est.' Reginald's purpose was not so much to record the

oath to maintain ecclesiastical rights as they had been laid down by Nicholas Breakspear in 1152/53. It was only then that Øystein could set about the exercise of his authority over the region. As a group, the Øystein decretals throw extremely valuable light on conditions in the still struggling Norwegian Church, and the strenuous efforts being made by the reformist hierarchy to establish ecclesiastical discipline in accordance with international norms of conduct.

Little can be established from Norwegian sources for the precise date and context of the letters, but four were issued from Benevento in December 1169, and a fifth refers to the recent murder of Bishop Thorstein of Oslo, which occurred earlier in the same year. Moreover, another English source, a letter written by Thomas Becket in late 1169, identifies Masters Godfrey (*Godefridus*) and Walter as envoys to the Curia of the Archbishop of Trondheim. They must have presented their credentials to the exiled Archbishop, then at Sens, as they travelled through northern France. Becket, in fact, took advantage of their journey to send a message to one of his own supporters, Bishop Stephen of Meaux, who was then in the papal Curia in Benevento. In addition to promoting his own business, he asked Stephen to use his influence to smooth the way of the two Norwegian envoys;[52] and a letter from the French chancellor, Bishop Hugh of Champfleury, ordered the provost of Chalfont to return the *cappa* which the Norwegian clergy had left.[53] Moreover, the anonymous correspondent who asked Becket in early 1170 to remember himself and Master Walter, when he returned to his own, is none other than Godfrey, Øystein's envoy.[54] Their names, in any case, suggest English or Anglo-Norman origins.[55] It is highly likely that

details of Stephen's legation to Norway as to highlight the miraculous intervention of Saint Cuthbert in preserving the papal envoy's party from shipwreck as they recrossed the North Sea. Stephen was duly grateful to the saint: he went to Durham to place a covering on the tomb, and recounted the story to the monks in the Chapter House (Reginald of Durham, p. 109). Even if not accurate in all details (Stephen of Orvieto was not a cardinal, for example), Reginald's record is further evidence of the close links between monastic institutions in England and Norway. The papal legate was accompanied on his return journey by an abbot (William, occ. 1148x66) of Grimsby — presumably the Augustinian house of St Augustine and St Olaf at Wellow by Grimsby in Lincolnshire, founded *c*. 1132 by Henry I: *Heads of Religious Houses*, ed. by Knowles, Brooke, and London, p. 189; Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 179. Snorri Sturluson speaks of the oaths taken by the magnates in the King's presence, but says nothing about a king's oath: *Heimskringla*, trans. by Monsen/Smtih, p. 725: 'Erling Skakki and twelve landed men with him swore oaths before the king according to the law'; cf. the Laing/Foote version, p. 409: 'Erling Skakke, and with him twelve other lendermen, administered to the king the oath of the law.'

[52] *CTB*, II, 1002–05, no. 233 (p. 1004 and n. 4).

[53] PL, 196, col. 1588, no. 6.

[54] *CTB*, II, 1158–61, no. 272 (pp. 1160–61).

[55] Such is the view of Professor Erik Gunnes of Oslo, who has kindly given me the benefit of his unrivalled knowledge of the Norwegian Church at this time: 'they must be English, and may also constitute a link with Canterbury'.

they secured the five letters in *Cottoniana* and *Petrihusensis* which can be securely dated December 1169, and it is not impossible that the others were secured at the same time, although only two, *Ex diligenti* and *Ad audientiam* (nos. 1 and 4), refer specifically to 'your envoys'. They are, in any case, unlikely to have been impetrated any later than 1177, when Sverre made his move against Erling Skakke and his son, for Norway was in a state of civil war from that point until 1202, long after Alexander's death in 1181; and, in fact, the narrower limits of 1163/64–December 1169 may be assigned to all eleven.

Acquisition in this manner of batches of papal letters on difficult or contentious issues was not unusual. About ten years earlier, in 1156, Abbot Robert of St Albans had obtained thirteen letters and privileges from Pope Adrian IV;[56] slightly later, in 1175–76, Archbishop Richard of Canterbury took the trouble to arm himself and his suffragans with a sheaf of between six and eight papal letters to augment the decrees published at the council of Westminster in 1175.[57] Øystein's consultations, like Richard of Canterbury's, concerned a range of disciplinary, legal, and pastoral issues which reflect the problems of his far-flung province.[58] Two in particular call for comment. *Ex diligenti* (no. 1), addressed to the Archbishop of Trondheim, responds to a question about the impossibility of maintaining the canonical regulations about consanguineous marriages in an island which is more than twelve day's sail from Norway.[59] Refusing to give a blanket relaxation, and thus to change the general law, Alexander allows Øystein to make a dispensation for marriages within the fifth, sixth, and seventh degrees of consanguinity, but to hold fast to the prohibition of marriage within the fourth degree and below. Interestingly, the authority cited is Pope Gregory I's dispensation for the newly converted English. There has been much speculation about the location of this island. Iceland was only three or four days' sailing away; perhaps Greenland was intended? And the second, *Licet tam ueteris* (no. 5), allowed dispensation from the ban on servile labour on Sundays and feast days where the population was dependent on the sea for most of its food; equally, where fasting on bread and water had been imposed as a penance, the bishops might allow substitution of other food where bread was not available.

The unique survival of the complete and integrated texts of these eleven letters in English sources raises interesting questions about the transmission of texts from one

[56] *Papsturkunden in England*, vol. III, ed. by W. Holtzmann, Abhandlungen … Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse, 3rd series, 33 (Berlin: Weidmannsche, 1952), pp. 234–54, nos 100–10, 112–13.

[57] Mary Cheney, 'The Council of Westminster 1175: New Light on an Old Source', in *The Materials, Sources, and Methods of Ecclesiastical History*, ed. by Derek Baker, Studies in Church History, 11 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1975), pp. 61–68 (esp. pp. 63–67).

[58] The province of Nidaros comprised the dioceses of Bergen, Stavanger, Hamar, and Oslo in Norway; Skålholt and Hólar in Iceland, Sodor, which included the Faeroes, the Orkneys, the Western Isles of Scotland, and Greenland.

[59] *Decretales ineditae*, ed. and rev. by Chodorow and Duggan, no. 86.

region to another. In this case, however, Øystein's exile in the early 1180s provides an attractive explanation. When he fled to England in 1180, he would have brought with him the nucleus of his household, perhaps even including Masters Godfrey and Walter, and the precious papal letters which he had obtained. Whether he had the originals or copies cannot now be established. His known residence in Lincoln and suspected residence in Yorkshire places him in a region of exceptional canonical activity. Canon law was taught at Oxford and Lincoln, and Fountains[60] and Bridlington[61] were engaged in the compilation of the latest decretal law in the late 1170s–early 1180s. Unfortunately, no secure provenance has been established for *Cottoniana* and *Petrihusensis,* although English transcription is proposed on general palaeographical grounds and on the use of Old English orthographical forms — thorn, eth, and wyn — in place names like St Frideswide and Kenilworth.[62] They stand at the end of the line of the 'Worcester family', an interconnected sequence of English compilations which originated twenty-five years earlier in the activities of English judges delegate in Worcester, Exeter, and Canterbury.[63] Like their relatives, they were large, professional compilations, organized in six books according to subject matter, and they contain other unique letters,[64] like the Norwegian decretals, which demonstrate access to additional sources of decretal material. *Cottoniana* and *Petrihusensis* were finalized between 1189 and 1193, which gives ample time for Øystein's letters to have been incorporated into their common archetype in the mid-1180s.[65] One cannot deduce the form in which the Trondheim letters were transmitted to the archetype, since they have been distributed through the much larger collection according to their broad subject matter; but it is not impossible that they formed the nucleus of a Norwegian decretal collection. The letters were certainly obtained to strengthen the jurisdictional arm of

[60] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 527 (S.C. 814), fols 24^{r}–45^{v}: Duggan, *Decretal Collections*, pp. 69, 80–81; Christopher R. Cheney and Mary G. Cheney, from the papers of W. Holtzmann, *Studies in the Collections of Twelfth-Century Decretals*, Monumenta Iuris Canonici, Series B, Corpus Collectionum, 3 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1979), pp. 100–15.

[61] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 357 (S.C. 814), fols 80–133 (the Bridlington Collection): Duggan, *Decretal Collections*, pp. 85–95; cf. the related Claudian Collection, BL, Cotton MSS, Claudius A. iv, fols 189–216: Duggan, *Decretal Collections*, pp. 85–95, Plate IV.

[62] *Cottoniana* 6.21, fol. 266^{rb}; *Petrihusensis* 2.18.2, MS 193, first quire, fol. 2^{ra}.

[63] Duggan, *Decretal Collections*, pp. 49–51, 95–117.

[64] Charles Duggan, 'Decretal Letters to Hungary', *Folia Theologica* (Budapest), 3 (1992), 5–31; C. Duggan, 'Italian Marriage Decretals in English Collections: With Special Reference to the Peterhouse Collection', in *Cristianità ed Europa: Miscellanea di Studi in Onore di Luigi Prosdocimi*, ed. by Cesare Alzati, 2 vols (Rome: Herder, 1994), I, 417–51: both repr. with the same pagination in Charles Duggan, *Decretals and the Creation of the 'New Law' in the Twelfth Century: Judges, Judgements, Equity and Law*, Collected Studies (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), nos V and VI.

[65] Compare Duggan, *Decretal Collections*, pp. 116–17.

the Archbishop of Trondheim and his suffragans (as well as to resolve some tricky local issues). They should, therefore, be accorded their full legal significance and ranked with the other unique monuments of Norwegian history — the oath of King Magnus (1163) and the *Canones Nidrosienses* (?1163–64) — whose survival in English manuscripts can be associated with Øystein's brief sojourn in England.

The sole witness to the oath taken by King Magnus at his coronation in 1163 and to the fifteen *Canones Nidrosienses* survives in BL, MS Harley 3405, fols $3^{r–v}$ + 1^{r}–2^{r}.[66] The manuscript is a compilation of three very disparate materials: fols 1–3, bound in the wrong order, contain the royal oath and the decrees, followed on the final folio verso (fol. 2^{v}) in a different, more 'clerkly' hand of the same period (late twelfth century) by a transcription of an important decretal of Alexander III addressed to Bishop Roger of Worcester; fol. $4^{r–v}$ is a fragment from an eleventh-century liturgical book, with neumes; and fols 5^{r}–35^{v} contain a collection of sixteenth-century Swan-marks.[67] The association between the three fragments in MS Harley 3405 is thus wholly fortuitous and provides no clues to the provenance of the Norwegian material. Nor can anything be gleaned from the transcription itself, which, apart from the last item, is in a careful book hand. The text is beautifully laid out, each clause beginning with a prominent initial, coloured alternately green and red,[68] but there are no headings, although a three-line space was left at the top of the opening folio (3^{r}), and blank lines were also left before capp. [1], [2], [3], [5], [6], [7], [8], [10], [11], [12], [13], [14], [15], and [16], and half a line was left vacant before cap. [4].[69] Some kind of identifying rubrics were clearly intended, but they were never entered. The addition of the Worcester decretal, *Inter cetera sollicitudinis,* issued from Sens on 26 November 1164, suggests that the Norwegian fragment had once been included in a canonical collection.[70] The decretal defined the current

[66] Described in Holtzmann, 'Krone und Kirche', pp. 345–47.

[67] These were geometrical designs indicating royal ownership which were cut into the beaks of swans during the annual 'swan-upping'.

[68] The green initial P for *Precipimus* (cap. [7]) has a drop of five lines; the red P of *Pueros* (cap. [9]) has a drop of six lines.

[69] There is no numeration in the manuscript. Holtzmann numbered the oath and the decrees in a single sequence, 1–16 (Holtzmann, 'Krone und Kirche', pp. 376–82), with the title 'Die Canones der Reichssynode von 1164'. Oluf Kolsrud, 'Kardinal-legaten Nicolaus av Albano i Noreg 1152', *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 33 (1945), 485–512, rightly challenged that arrangement, but Holtzmann's numeration is used here to avoid confusion.

[70] P. Jaffé, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum ad annum 1198*, ed. by S. Loewenfeld, F. Kaltenbrunner, and P. W. Ewald, 2 vols (Leipzig: Veit, 1885–88) (hereafter JL, cited by item no.), 12254. The date is transmitted in the earliest surviving decretal collection, *Wigorniensis altera* (BL, MS Royal 11 B. II, fols 97^{ra}–102): Duggan, *Decretal Collections*, pp. 46, 69–70, 152–54, nos 2–3. For the text, see PL, 200, col. 930, no. 1050 (derived from another English decretal collection, *Belverensis*, no. 9 (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e Musaeo 249, fols 121^{ra}–135^{rb}: Duggan, *Decretal Collections*, p. 155, no. 9). An English translation is given in Mary G.

ecclesiastical law on clerical marriage, inheritance of benefices, and celibacy, which were the subject of *canones* [7]–[9].

Although there is no doubt about the importance of this unique survival for the ecclesiastical and secular history of Norway, there has been much debate about the precise origin of these decrees, which sought to regulate many important matters relating to the Norwegian Church. Walther Holtzmann argued, against Oluf Kolsrud, that the decrees could not have been issued by Cardinal Nicholas Breakspear in 1152/53, since they are markedly dependent on Gratian's *Decretum*, which Holtzmann thought Nicholas was unlikely to have known at that early date, but represented a new formulation, perhaps by the legate Master Stephen of Orvieto who presided at Magnus's coronation in 1163.[71] Later Norwegian scholars have put forward further alternatives;[72] and recent work on the precocious development of legal studies in Provence, where the young Nicholas Breakspear acquired his technical education in the 1130s, provides some grounds for reconsidering Kolsrud's arguments.[73] Nevertheless, the most likely context for their promulgation remains 1163–64, and their compilation may be assigned to the legate Master Stephen of Orvieto in collaboration with Øystein himself.

Cheney, *Roger, Bishop of Worcester 1164–1179: An English Bishop in the Age of Becket* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), p. 70; cf. Cheney, *Roger, Bishop of Worcester*, p. 348, no. 61. Although written by a skilful hand, the text in MS Harley 3405 contains a serious error: the inscription addresses the bishop as *Dilecto filio suo*, instead of *venerabili fratri suo*.

[71] Holtzmann, 'Krone und Kirche', pp. 376–82. Direct derivation from Gratian occurs in capp. [2], [4]–[6], [9], [12]–[15]; cf. W. Holtzmann, 'Die Benutzung Gratians in der päpstlichen Kanzlei im 12. Jahrhundert', *Studia Gratiana*, 1 (1953), 325–49 (esp. pp. 347–48); Kolsrud, 'Kardinal-legaten Nicolaus av Albano'. Arne Odd Johnsen, 'Det eldste norske provincialstatutt', *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 50 (1971), 103–22, also argued for 1152/53.

[72] Vegard Skånland, *Det eldste norske provinsialstatutt* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1969), favoured the 1170s; Odd Sandaaker, 'Canones Nidrosienses i intermesso eller opptakt?', *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 77 (1998), 181–96, argued for the period after Øystein's repatriation, 1183–88. I am very grateful to Professor Sverre Bagge of Bergen, both for advice on current Norwegian scholarship on this matter and for allowing me to read his article, 'Den heroiske tid – kirkereform og kirkekamp 1153–1214', in advance of publication. He favours 1163/64 or some slightly later date. In challenging Sandaaker's much later dating, he cites the English manuscript evidence, which he rightly links with Øystein's English exile.

[73] Christoph Egger, 'The Canon Regular: Saint-Ruf in Context', in *Adrian IV, the English Pope: Studies and Texts*, ed. by Brenda Bolton and Anne J. Duggan (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 13–27 (n. 49). For the suggestion that Nicholas was a pupil of Master Géraud in Provence in the 1130s, see André Gouron, 'Sur les traces de Rogerius en Provence', in *Liber amicorum: Études offertes à Pierre Jaubert. Textes réunis par Géraud Aubin* (Bordeaux: Presses universitaires, 1992), pp. 313–26 (p. 314, esp. p. 323); repr. with the same pagination in A. Gouron, *Juristes et droits savants: Bologne et la France médiévale* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), no. XIII; A. Gouron, 'Observations sur le *Stemma Bulgaricum*', in *Christinità ed europa*, ed. by Alzati, I, 485–95 (esp. p. 493); repr. in Gouron, *Juristes et droits savants*, no. VI.

Another unique English relic of Øystein's exile is the full text of his own *Passio et miracula beati Olavi*, which survives only in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS CCC 209. This manuscript, dated *c.* 1200, comes from Fountains Abbey.[74] Whether this provenance is indicative of its place of composition cannot be determined, but it is certainly possible that Øystein stayed at the monastery before or after his appearance in the public records.

If Øystein left traces — important traces — of his presence in England, he also brought souvenirs of his English sojourn back with him to Norway. The *Ordo ad desponsandam mulierem* found in a late (*c*. 1300) manuscript replicates the ceremony in the Bury Missal, which is dated 1125x1135, save for the address to the couple, which is in Old Norse;[75] while the sequence *Festa dies* for the feast of Saint Clement may have been derived from Bury, as also the archetype of what became the 'Saint Edmund Antiphoner', with the office of Saint Edmund.[76] Even more important, however, for the liturgical and religious history of the whole province of Trondheim was his introduction of the cult of Saint Thomas of Canterbury.

Øystein's exile coincided with the consolidation of the cult of the recently canonized martyr, who died *pro libertate ecclesie*. Indeed, it is possible that he visited the shrine at Canterbury, perhaps in 1182, after Abbot Samson's election. Here was a saint he could identify with: a secular, like himself; like himself the friend of Cistercians, Canons Regular, and St-Victor in Paris; like himself, associated with the defence of ecclesiastical dignity. For an archbishop whose province had seen two murders of bishops in his own lifetime — the hanging of Bishop Reinald of Stavanger by King Harald Gille (8 January 1135)[77] and the murder of Bishop Thorstein of Oslo in 1169 — Becket's murder would have had many resonances, and the propagation of his cult in the province of Trondheim carried more than a spiritual message.

There may, indeed, have been some contact between the two men during Becket's lifetime, either in 1161 or in 1163. The first possibility occurred during Øystein's journey to and from Italy in 1160–61. Øystein had been elected (or nominated) archbishop in 1157, but the unsettled state of Norway had prevented his consecration until he travelled to Italy in late 1160 or early 1161, when he secured consecration from

[74] *Antiphonarium Nidrosiensis*, ed. by Gjerløw, p. 222; *Ordo Nidrosiensis ecclesiae*, ed. by Lilli Gjerløw, Libri liturgici Provinciae Nidrosiensis Mediae Aevi, 2 (Oslo: Norsk historisk kjeldeskrift-institutt, 1968), pp. 125–27.

[75] *Antiphonarium Nidrosiensis*, ed. by Gjerløw, p. 222.

[76] *Antiphonarium Nidrosiensis*, ed. by Gjerløw, p. 222.

[77] Snorri Sturluson recorded the revulsion of the nobility, 'The bishop said he would not thus impoverish his bishopric; he would rather risk his life. They then hanged the bishop out at Holm on the sling. But when he was going to the gallows he shook his shoe off his foot and said with an oath, "I know no more about King Magnus's wealth than what there is in this shoe." There was a gold ring in it. Bishop Reinald was buried at Nordnes in St Michael's church, and that evil deed was much blamed' (*Heimskringla*, trans. by Monsen/Smith, p. 650; cf. trans. by Laing/Foote, pp. 327–28). The Bishop was killed on 8 January.

Alexander III himself. Very precise dates are not available, but if the consecration was in Rome, it must have occurred between 9 April and 14 June 1161, the only 'window of opportunity' in the period.[78] Moreover, Alexander's Roman stay included the summer Ember days (7, 9, 10 June), which would have provided the perfect occasion for the consecration of a bishop on the Saturday of Ember Week (10 June 1161).[79] Such a date would in fact be perfectly possible, since Øystein was back in Nidaros by November 1161.[80] Thomas Becket, then royal chancellor, was with Henry II, mostly in Normandy, during that period.[81] It is possible that Øystein, travelling by way of Normandy and the French kingdom, made contact with the English court and its chancellor. Alternatively, if I am right in my speculation that Øystein's envoys were present at Tours in May 1163, that occasion would have provided a perfect opportunity for establishing contact between the primate of Norway and the newly elevated primate of England. These are speculations only, but either would explain why Øystein's envoys sought Becket's patronage in 1169, and also, perhaps, the alacrity with which he adopted the cult of the new saint and martyr.[82]

Øystein was responsible for the basic construction of the liturgical *Ordo* for the cathedral church of Nidaros, whose latest entry is the feast of Saint Thomas of Canterbury. Detailed textual study of that office, carried out by Lilli Gjerløw, has demonstrated many affinities with English offices for the feast of Becket's martyrdom. Particularly telling is its incorporation of nine of the twelve responsories from the solemn rhymed office, *Studens* (var. *Stridens*) *livor*, composed by Benedict of Canterbury for the monastic office celebrated at Canterbury from 1173,[83] and they are arranged in what is probably the original monastic sequence, 1–8 and 12.[84] From

[78] Alexander spent the whole of 1160 and the first three months of 1161 at Anagni: Jaffé, *Regesta Pontifcum*, II, 149–53.

[79] Although the pope could consecrate bishops outside these periods. Richard of Dover, for example, was consecrated at Anagni on Sunday, 7 April 1174: Ralph of Diceto, I, 388–90; Benedict of Peterborough, *Chronicle of the Reigns*, I, 70.

[80] *Theodoricus Monachus, An Account of the Ancient History of the Norwegian Kings*, trans. by David McDougall and Ian McDougall (London: Viking Society for Northern Research, 1998), p. xi.

[81] Eyton, *Court, Household, and Itinerary*, pp. 51–52.

[82] *Ordo Nidrosiensis*, ed. by Gjerløw, pp. 29–30, 109, 162–63, 166 n. c, 169 n. f, 170, 171.

[83] *Antiphonarium Nidrosiensis*, ed. by Gjerløw, pp. 99–100, esp. p. 100.

[84] The 'secular' office of matins, sung in cathedral churches, was shorter than the monastic one, comprising nine lections and nine responsories instead of twelve. In adapting the Canterbury office for use at Trondheim, therefore, Øystein had to reduce the readings to nine and omit three responsories. For the responsories, see *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, ed. by C. Blume, G. Dreves, and H. M. Bannister, 55 vols (Leipzig: Altenburg, 1886–1922), XIII, 238–40, 1 Nocturno, 1–4, 2 Nocturno, 1–4, and 3 Nocturno, 4; cf. Andrew Hughes, 'Chants in the Rhymed Office of St Thomas of Canterbury', *Early Music*, 16 (1988), 185–201; Heinrich Husmann, 'Zur Überlieferung der Thomas-Offizien', in *Organicae Voces: Festschrift Joseph*

Nidaros, Becket's name was carried throughout the province, including the island of Iceland. The Icelandic liturgies celebrated Becket's feast not only with its proper service on 29 December, the anniversary of his martyrdom, but with a commemoration on the octave (5 January).[85] And Becket's heroic story entered into the mainstream of the saga tradition on the island, culminating with the compilation through the thirteenth century of the Old Norse *Thómas Saga Erkibyskups*.[86] At Nidaros itself, Thomas was certainly honoured at Helegeseter, the Augustinian priory which Øystein established beside the cathedral church. Even more visible evidence of his English experience is still evident in the cathedral church of Trondheim, whose east end (choir, retro-choir, and Lady Chapel) he caused to be rebuilt in early Gothic style from 1183, where architectural historians have seen strong echoes of Canterbury's Trinity Chapel, which was designed to hold Becket's shrine. Although only completed in 1184, its plan would have been known and much of the superstructure would have been visible during Øystein's exile.[87]

The experience of exile, therefore, could be enriching, both for those who gave sanctuary and for the victim. English chroniclers learned something about the complex history of twelfth-century Norway; English ecclesiastics encountered a foreign prelate from whom they received legal and other texts; an English abbey exploited his presence to incline the English king towards its choice of abbot. For his part, the Norwegian primate gained first-hand experience of the power of an English king; he saw the wealth and status of English monasteries and episcopal sees; he perceived the symbolic significance of an ecclesiastical hero like Becket, who could be used to counterbalance the influence of royal saints like Edward and Edmund in England or Olaf in Norway; and he saw, too, the splendour of English cathedrals like Lincoln and Canterbury. Arne Odd Johnsen thought that the experience was salutary for Øystein, in that it persuaded him to be more conciliatory towards King Sverre, with whom he made his peace in 1183.[88] That conclusion can be argued, but the Arch-

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Smits van Waesberghe, ed. by Peter Fischer (Amsterdam: Instituut voor Middeleeuwse Muziekwetenschap, 1963), pp. 87–88.

[85] Only tantalizing fragments survive of medieval liturgical books from Iceland; but see the calendars of the so-called 'Pater Noster Psalter', Copenhagen, Det Arnamagnaeanske Institut, MSS AM 249q fol. VII, fol. (1)^{v}, *Thome episcopi et martyris* (29 December); AM 249q fol. I, fol. 1^{r}, *thome archiepiscopi commemmoratio* (5 January): Lilli Gjerløw, *Liturgica Islandica*, Bibliotheca Arnamagnaeana, 35 (Copenghagen: Reitzels, 1980), plates 135 and 125.

[86] *Thómas saga erkibyskups*, ed. by E. Magnusson, 2 vols, RS, 65.

[87] My thanks are due to Dr Paul Binski for confirmation of Trondheim's architectural echoes of Canterbury. For Canterbury, see Peter Kidson, 'Gervase, Becket and William of Sens', *Speculum*, 68 (1993), 969–91; Peter Draper, 'Interpretations of the Rebuilding of Canterbury Cathedral, 1174–1186: Archaeological and Historical Evidence', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 56 (1997), 184–203.

[88] Johnsen, *Øysteins eksil*, p. 17: 'Dessuten må oppholdet i England ha vært en skole i realpolitikk for den norske erkebiskopen.'

bishop's establishment, close by Trondheim cathedral, of the Augustinian priory of Helegeseter, where Saint Thomas was honoured, as well as the celebration of the martyrdom as a major feast day in the Norwegian calendar, sent out a powerful message of ecclesiastical fortitude in the face of powerful secular forces. Trondheim cathedral may have been a shrine for King Saint Olaf, but the feast of Saint Thomas the Martyr was celebrated there with equal honour.

APPENDIX

Decretals received by Archbishop Øystein of Nidaros (Trondheim)

Decretal	Recipient(s)	Date	Subject	*Cott.*	*Pet.*
1. Ex diligenti [. . .] prohibemus.[i]	Abp Trondheim	[1163x65, 1169, or 1173]	Consanguinity	2.26	1.30
2. Vestre discretionis [. . .] leguntur.[ii]	Abp Trondheim, *ap. sed. leg.* + suffs	[1169 or 1173]	Matrimony, etc.	2.72	1.12
3. Ad aures nostras [. . .] facultatem.[iii]	Abp Trondheim + suffs	[1163x65, 1169, or 1173]	Clerical discipline	4.73	3.78
4. Ad audientiam [. . .] deferemus.[iv]	Abp Trondheim, *ap. sed. leg.*	[1163x65, 1169, or 1173]	Konghelle	4.81	3.85
5. Licet tam ueteris [. . .] utantur.[v]	Abp Trondheim + suffs	[1163x65, 1169, or 1173]	Sunday observance	4.85	3.89
6. Quoniam in parte [. . .] [habere].[vi]	Abp Trondheim + suffs	[1163x65, 1169, or 1173]	Various topics[vii]	4.86	3.91
7. Peruenit ad nos [. . .] uindicare.[viii]	Abp Trondheim	[Dec. 1169]	Murder of Bp of Oslo	5.29	4.40
8. Audiuimus quod [. . .] subrogare.[ix]	Abp Trondheim, *ap. sed. leg.* + suffs	Benevento, 10 Dec. 1169	Various topics[x]	6.12	lost
9. Vigili cura [. . .] reputetur.[xi]	Abp Trondheim, *ap. sed. leg.* + suffs	Benevento, 18 Dec. 1169	Lay appointment[xii]	6.50	lost
10. Quoniam ad [. . .] conferre.[xiii]	Abp Trondheim, *ap. sed. leg.* + suffs	Benevento, 10 Dec. 1169	Pluralism	6.79	lost
11. Super eo quod [. . .] cogantur.[xiv]	Abp Trondheim, *ap. sed. leg.* + suffs	Benevento, 10 Dec. 1169	Procuration	6.87	lost
12. Quesivit a nobis [. . .] seruetur[xv]	Abp Nidaros	Segni, 27 Jan.–29 March 1173	Marriage, etc.	—	1.37[b]

[i] JL —. *Decretales ineditae*, ed. and rev. by Chodorow and Duggan, pp. 149–57, no. 86; cf. Holtzmann, 'Krone und Kirche', pp. 383–84, no. 1.

[ii] JL —. Holtzmann, 'Krone und Kirche', pp. 384–86, no. 2.

[iii] JL —. *Decretales ineditae*, ed. and rev. by Chodorow and Duggan, no. 88; cf. Holtzmann, 'Krone und Kirche', pp. 386–87, no. 3.

[iv] JL 15750; Holtzmann, 'Krone und Kirche', p. 387, no. 4; Eirik Vandvik, *Latinske dokument til norsk historie fram til år 1204* (Oslo: Norske samlaget, 1959), no. 14; cf. pp. 21–23. For Øystein's foundation of the Augustinian house of Kastelle at Konghelle, dated to post-1164, see Nyberg, *Monasticism*, pp. 224–25. Only *Cott.*, *Pet.*, and the Anglo-Norman *Sangermanensis* transmit the correct details of sender and recipient.

[v] JL 14118. Holtzmann, 'Krone und Kirche', p. 388, no. 5. Correct details of sender and recipient only in *Cott.* and *Pet.*

[vi] JL 14109+14204+14206. *Decretales ineditae*, ed. and rev. by Chodorow and Duggan, no. 89; cf. Holtzmann, 'Krone und Kirche', pp. 388–90, no. 6.

[vii] Celebration of feasts; punishment of homicides; genuflection; feast of the Holy Trinity; reconsecration of broken altars; on a priest who killed a pagan; restoration after penance of priests who 'marry'.

[viii] JL —. *Decretales ineditae*, ed. and rev. by Chodorow and Duggan, no. 87; cf. Holtzmann, 'Krone und Kirche', pp. 391–92, no. 7. The murdered bishop was Thorstein of Oslo, 1157/58–69.

[ix] Holtzmann, 'Krone und Kirche', pp. 391–92, no. 8.

[x] Forbids ordeal of hot iron; refuses to give particular penance for those whose children of less than seven years perish in fire or water; archbishop may wear the pallium for anointing of kings; priests to be buried in Mass vestments; if the sin of the man who erred with a nun is secret, he is not prohibited from accepting a dignity after due penance, nor indeed prohibited without it, but he should be strongly urged not to accept it, though he can accept the administration of an abbey, if his life is proved in a religious cloister; allows, with advice of fellow-bishops, deposition of the bishop who keeps his concubine publicly in his house, even if he willingly confesses it, and appoint (*ordinare*) another suitable and honourable (*honestum*) man in his place; permits resignation of the (other) bishop, who is *inutilis* and wishes to resign, and appointment of another.

[xi] JL —. Holtzmann, 'Krone und Kirche', pp. 392–93, no. 9.

[xii] Forbids the king or any layperson to grant bishoprics, abbacies, or churches in any way; but does not prohibit consultation with the king on episcopal elections. If such a grant has been made, it is to be regarded as null.

[xiii] JL —. Holtzmann, 'Krone und Kirche', pp. 393–94, no. 10.

[xiv] JL —. Holtzmann, 'Krone und Kirche', pp. 394–95, no. 11.

[xv] JL 12184 + 13774. The Trondheim address was rejected by Holtzmann ('Krone und Kirche', p. 362, n. 1) but argued persuasively by Lilli Gjerløw, on the evidence of the *Ordo Nidrosiensis* (ed. by Gjerløw, pp. 87–88). Only part (b) of *Quesivit a nobis* ('Quod autem [. . .] seruetur': JL 13774) was received into Peterhouse (1.37[b]), where it is improperly attached to a letter addressed to the Bishop of Beauvais; Cottoniana received the Beauvais letter (2.31), but not the Trondheim addition. This confused tradition suggests that *Quisiuit a nobis* did not belong to the preceding dossier. The fragment, *Quod autem mulier [. . .] seruetur* [*Pet.*: *reseruetur*], ordered that a woman could not separate from her husband and marry another *pro furto uel alio crimine quolibet*, unless he sought to draw her to *maleficia* and *fidei sue religionem corrumpere uelit*; in which case she might be separated, but she was not free to marry another.

Expulsio, *Proscriptio*, *Exilium*: Exile and Friendship in the Writings of Osbert of Clare*

BRIAN BRIGGS

The theme of exile, perhaps not surprisingly, plays heavily in many of the writings of Osbert of Clare (d. *c*. 1160).[1] The sometime prior of Westminster Abbey, hagiographer, and noted forger of charters was no stranger to the exilic life.[2] Osbert spent much of his career away from Westminster Abbey in some form of exile, and over half of his thirty-nine extant letters were likely written while in exile. This assured that the theme and rhetoric of exile were both prevalent throughout his letters and pragmatic in nature. Often the letters in which he addresses the theme of exile were used to request assistance from people whom he considered to be friends. Because of this the themes of exile and of friendship are

* My thanks to Professor Robert Bartlett who read over an early draft of this article as part of my doctoral dissertation on Osbert of Clare and gave me valuable criticism and assistance.

[1] Recently, Thomas Haye wrote an article about exile in Osbert of Clare's letters entitled 'Alte und neue Heimat: Die Exilliteratur des Osbert von Clare', in *Exil, Fremdheit und Ausgrenzung in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, ed. by A. Bihrer, S. Limbeck, and P. G. Schmidt, Identitäten und Alteritäten, 4 (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2000), pp. 247–57. Although I did not become aware of Haye's article until it was too late to incorporate it fully into this present study, Dr Haye and I took very different approaches to our examinations of Osbert's exilic writings. Nevertheless, where our research correlates we have typically come to similar conclusions. Haye's article principally addresses Osbert of Clare's use of letters to try to improve his position and enable his return from exile. Osbert does this, Haye argues, in two ways: by directly making his case in argumentation and by instilling his case with classical and biblical models of exile, so that he appears the victim.

[2] J. Armitage Robinson gave a good overview of Osbert of Clare's career in 'Westminster in the Twelfth Century: Osbert of Clare', *Church Quarterly Review*, 68 (July 1909), 336–56; reprinted, with a few changes, as the introduction to Osbert of Clare, *Letters*, pp. 1–20.

closely linked within Osbert of Clare's writings. This essay will examine how Osbert addressed these two related themes within his writings and explore the range of models of exile and friendship which he drew upon, from classical and Christian models, such as Cicero or Boethius,[3] to biblical models, such as in Exodus or the Babylonian Captivity.[4] Additionally, Osbert had both ecclesiastical and secular models that had developed throughout the Middle Ages, particularly the self-imposed exiles of hermits and the long tradition of episcopal exile within the Christian Church.[5]

Neither the chronology nor the nature of Osbert of Clare's two principal periods of exile are entirely certain.[6] He first went into exile *c*. 1121 after a failed election, probably to the abbacy of Westminster,[7] and remained in exile until *c*. 1134.[8] This

[3] For recent secondary examinations of exile in classical sources, see John Nicholson, *Cicero's Return from Exile* (New York: Peter Lang, 1992), which looks at Cicero's *Post Reditum* Orations, and Gareth Williams, *Banished Voices* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), which looks at Ovid's exilic poetry. It is perhaps interesting to note that the role of *amicitia* is just as important in these classical sources as it is within Osbert's exile letters.

[4] See *Exile: Old Testament, Jewish, and Christian Conceptions*, ed. by James Scott (Leiden: Brill, 1997), which consists of essays looking at exile in Jewish and Christian culture from the Babylonian period to the early Christian era. For a more theological approach, see Thomas Raitt, *A Theology of Exile: Judgement/Deliverance in Jeremiah and Ezekiel* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977).

[5] Exile in the medieval period has only recently received much academic attention, with the exception of the British Isles in the early Middle Ages and Italy in the late Middle Ages, the two most frequently studied areas of medieval exilic literature. *Exil, Fremdheit und Ausgrenzung*, ed. by Bihrer, Limbeck, and Schmidt, gives a selection of essays on a variety of topics concerning exile and the outcast in the Middle Ages. For the theme of exile in Anglo-Saxon literature, see Stanley Greenfield, *Hero and Exile: The Art of Old English Poetry* (London: Hambledon, 1989), esp. chs 17–21, and Patrick Cook, '*Woriað þa Winsalo*: The Bonds of Exile in "The Wanderer"', *Neophilologus*, 80 (1996), 127–37. There have been a significant number of case studies written that look at exile in late medieval and renaissance Italy, mostly written by Italian scholars. A more general look at the subject is given in Randolph Starn, *Contrary Commonwealth: The Theme of Exile in Medieval and Renaissance Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982). A. Bartlett Giamatti looks at the theme in both Italian and English literature in his book *Exile and Change in Renaissance Literature* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984).

[6] It is not the purpose of this essay to fully examine Osbert of Clare's exiles; instead I would like to focus on how he portrayed exile within his writings. Nevertheless, it is useful here to briefly lay out a chronology of his periods of exile.

[7] In a letter to Prior Hugh of Lewes, Osbert claimed that the king did not support him in his election and sent him away to Ely. Osbert of Clare, *Letters*, p. 47. If this Prior Hugh is Hugh of Amiens, as he has been traditionally thought to be, then Osbert's exile must have begun between 1120 and early 1123 when Hugh was at Lewes, and probably before Abbot Herbert of Westminster's election in 1121.

[8] In a letter to Bishop Aethelwulf of Carlisle, dating from late 1133 or early 1134, Osbert states that he is still in exile. Osbert of Clare, *Letters*, p. 72. However, in a letter from King

period of exile was marked by relatively distinguished positions at significant Benedictine abbeys, including Ely, where he described himself as a *consenator capitolii eorum*,[9] and Bury, where he described Abbot Anselm as his *protector*.[10] In 1134 Osbert returned to Westminster and assumed the position of prior at the abbey, which he held throughout the rest of the 1130s. Sometime between 1139 and the early 1140s Osbert fell out of favour with Abbot Gervase, perhaps because of his critical attitude towards the Abbot, and was again sent into exile.[11] This exile, unlike the earlier period, was marked by complaints about poverty and illness. Instead of long stays at other abbeys, Osbert seems to have been placed in charge of a small impoverished community, perhaps one of Westminster Abbey's cells.[12] After Abbot Gervase's deposition in 1157/58, Osbert once again returned to Westminster where he appears in a charter during the inter-abbacy.[13]

Besides Osbert's actual experiences in exile, the ecclesiastical environment of the twelfth century affected his perceptions of exile. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Investiture Conflict intensified regional conflicts between bishops and secular lords where high-level churchmen felt that they needed to go into exile.[14] Osbert of Clare's career was flanked by the two most famous of these episcopal exiles in England, those of Anselm of Canterbury shortly before and of Thomas Becket shortly after. Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury's two exiles under successive English kings, William II and Henry I, was perhaps especially influential on Osbert of Clare's

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Stephen to Pope Innocent II from 1139, Stephen claims that Osbert had been Prior of Westminster for five years. Osbert of Clare, *Letters*, p. 86.

[9] Osbert of Clare, *Letters*, p. 116.

[10] Osbert of Clare, *Letters*, p. 64.

[11] Osbert either complained about Gervase to Innocent II who then wrote a reprimanding letter to the Abbot, or perhaps more likely, altered an existing papal bull to be critical of the Abbot. *Papsturkunden in England*, 5 vols, ed. by W. Holtzmann (Berlin: Weidmannsche, 1930–52), I (1930), no. 24. Barbara Harvey made the case that the bull was altered in 'Abbot Gervase de Blois and the Fee-Farms of Westminster Abbey', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 40 (1967), 127–41 (pp. 128–29).

[12] In several letters Osbert alludes to this community, although he never describes it clearly. Osbert of Clare, *Letters*, pp. 115, 120, 126.

[13] *Westminster Abbey Charters*, ed. by Emma Mason, London Record Society, 25 (London: London Record Society, 1988), no. 341.

[14] There are some good recent case studies relating to these exiles, such as Michael Staunton, 'Exile in Eadmer's *Historia Novorum* and *Vita Anselmi*', in *Saint Anselm, Bishop and Thinker*, ed. by R. Majeran and E. I. Zielíski (Lublin: Catholic University of Lublin Press, 1999), pp. 47–59; Sally Vaughn, 'St Anselm and the English Investiture Conflict', *JMH*, 6 (1980), 61–86; Irven Resnick, 'Odo of Cambrai and the Investiture Crisis in the Early Twelfth Century', *Viator*, 28 (1997), 83–98. There is also considerable treatment of the subject in Richard Southern, *Saint Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), and in Frank Barlow, *Thomas Becket* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1986).

perception of ecclesiastical exile. While Osbert only briefly refers to Anselm of Canterbury in his writings, he nevertheless would have been very familiar with his career.[15]

Osbert's and Anselm's exiles were very different in nature. While Anselm was in exile because of conflicts between himself and kings from whom he claimed at least some degree of independence, Osbert was in exile because of conflicts between himself and his abbots and senior brethren at Westminster. Therefore Osbert, unlike Anselm, was involved in conflicts with people who were very clearly his superiors. Also, Anselm's exiles were played on an international stage, while Osbert's was very much a local affair.

Nevertheless, Osbert saw at least his first exile from Westminster as having a similar motivation to Anselm's exiles. 'Because I desired for there to be a free council of the Church and for ecclesiastical rights to prevail, I am damned like someone who has been shamed with a horrible crime', Osbert wrote to Abbot Herbert of Westminster.[16] In a letter to Henry, a monk of Westminster, regarding the cause of his exile, Osbert states: 'If there is a crime committed, it is the defence of the holy place and the faithfulness to and protection of the brothers: to have wished for the protection of the rights of the Church is my disgrace and misfortune.'[17] In another letter to Bishop Adelulf of Carlisle in which Osbert asks for assistance while in exile, he relates his problems to the problems of the wider Church: 'our cause, which is the cause of many'.[18] Osbert saw his exile not as a small local conflict, but in terms of a larger conflict over the protection of the Church's rights. This may have been because Osbert's first exile from Westminster was caused, at least partially, by King Henry I failing to support his election.

Osbert of Clare's Models of the Exile

Many of Osbert of Clare's letters particularly have extensive discussions of and allusions to exile due to the practical purpose for which they were written. A picture of how Osbert perceived exile can be extrapolated from the language that he uses in these letters to describe his exile and from the exilic models that he employs. These

[15] He only mentions Anselm of Canterbury in reference to Anselm of Bury being related to him (Osbert of Clare, *Letters*, pp. 63–64). Nevertheless, as the later Anselm appears to have been one of Osbert's closest friends, it can be assumed that Anselm of Bury would have discussed his uncle's career with Osbert. Osbert was also at least familiar with the treatise on the conception of Mary by Eadmer, the biographer of Anselm of Canterbury, as shown by its influence on Osbert's later sermon on the subject.

[16] 'Et quoniam salvum ecclesiae volui esse senatum et iura in omnibus ecclesiastica praevalere, damnatus sum tanquam flagitiosus crimine pessimo': Osbert of Clare, *Letters*, p. 51.

[17] 'Si crimen obicis, sacri loci defensio et fratrum fidelitas et tuitio est: ecclesiae iura salva esse voluisse, opprobrium meum et incommodum est': Osbert of Clare, *Letters*, p. 54.

[18] 'causam nostram, quae multorum est': Osbert of Clare, *Letters*, p. 74.

models were taken from three areas of writing: Scripture, classical authors, and early Christian authors.[19] Notably, Osbert did not use more contemporary examples of episcopal exile, such as the case of Anselm of Canterbury, and he did not use any sources regarding exile that were later than the sixth century in date.

These different sources of exilic models can be seen in the language Osbert of Clare uses to describe his exile. Osbert occasionally used the simple and impartial Latin noun *exilium* to describe his exile, but he uses the adjective *proscriptus* more frequently. In classical Latin, the term *proscriptus* carried a much stronger and more specific meaning of someone who was officially made an outlaw.[20] Osbert in one letter refers to himself as a 'stranger and visitor in a foreign land'.[21] In his letter to Henry of Westminster, he also uses the noun *expulsio* in an incriminating function.[22] Osbert considered Henry at least partially responsible for his expulsion from Westminster. He also sometimes used metaphors to describe his exile. These typically refer to the biblical exiles in Egypt and Babylon.[23] When asking that Abbot Herbert allow him to return to Westminster, Osbert argues: 'Therefore I ought to be restored amongst those who were liberated from servitude in Egypt and counted in the fortune of those who numbered amongst the citizens of Jerusalem led out of Babylon.'[24]

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[19] The early Christian authors that he employs are predominantly patristic writings, but also include later authors such as Boethius and Gregory the Great.

[20] Specifically, a *proscriptus* was someone whose life and property were considered forfeit by official decree, such as happened to many Roman patricians under the dictatorship of Sulla and under the second triumvirate of Antony, Octavian, and Lepidus. Cicero, who himself was proscribed and killed, described the proscriptions in several of his orations (e.g. in *Catilinam* II 9:20; *De domo sua* 17:43; *De provinciis consularibus* 19:45). Conversely, *exilium* could incorporate a wide range of meanings, both voluntary and involuntary, within Roman law: Peter Garnsey, *Social Status and Legal Privilege in the Roman Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), pp. 111–22.

[21] 'in terra aliena peregrinus et hospes': Osbert of Clare, *Letters*, p. 99.

[22] Osbert of Clare, *Letters*, p. 53. Osbert uses the word *expulsio* twice here. In one of these cases he says: 'Instead of a reward you rendered expulsion, outlawing and exile' ('Tu vero reddidisti vicem meritis expulsionem, proscriptionem, exilium'). This might simply be Osbert adding emphasis with synonymy, but it is perhaps more likely that he is actually emphasizing slight differences in meaning. It appears that he is separating out the different acts of expelling, outlawing, and being sent into a foreign land. In other places it appears that he uses these words as synonyms. Note this is the only instance where I have found that Osbert uses the noun *proscriptio*, as opposed to the adjective *proscriptus*.

[23] It is perhaps interesting to note that Osbert uses Babylon principally as a metaphor for exile, but in a letter to Robert de Sigillo he uses it as a metaphor for the secular world of the court. Osbert of Clare, *Letters*, p. 75.

[24] 'Restitui proinde deberem et ego inter eos qui ab Aegyptia servitute liberantur, et in eorum sorte numerari qui inter cives Ierusalem de Babylone educti numerantur': Osbert of Clare, *Letters*, p. 51.

Osbert also sometimes used softer language to describe his exile, depending on the audience. In the salutation of his letter to Hugh of Amiens, Osbert describes himself as *proscriptus*, but in the body of the letter where he describes King Henry's involvement in his exile he merely states that Henry urged him to 'leave our church for some time and to visit the church of Ely, to which I was sent'.[25] Hugh was close to King Henry, and Osbert perhaps thought it was expedient not to criticize the King to him.

The most frequently used source for models of exile within Osbert of Clare's letters is the Bible, particularly the Old Testament. Osbert draws from a wide range of biblical exiles, from the general metaphors of Egypt and Babylon to smaller, more specific examples, such as David's refuge from Saul.[26] He also makes more specific use of passages concerning the major Old Testament exiles such as Abraham's wanderings and the Babylonian captivity.[27] Osbert's use of old biblical exile could also be very critical. By comparing himself to Joseph after being sold into slavery in Egypt, Osbert is comparing his own brethren at Westminster to Joseph's jealous brothers.[28] When Osbert refers to New Testament passages in his exilic letters it is usually in the periphery, or it deals with the consequences of his exile, such as poverty. In a letter to Geoffrey, abbot of St Albans, Osbert complained that his poverty in exile had forced him to give up his studies for manual labour, changing him from a Mary to a Martha.[29] While accusing Henry of Westminster of betraying him, Osbert compares him to Judas, and thereby places himself in the role of Christ.[30]

Personal journeys away from one's monastic community are not portrayed as exiles in Osbert of Clare's letters, although Osbert saw them as both physically and spiritually dangerous. In a letter to Abbot Anselm of Bury, Osbert expressed his hope that Raphael would watch over Anselm just as he watched over Tobiah during his *peregrinatio*.[31] Similarly, Osbert later sought Saint Audrey's protection for one of his own journeys abroad.[32] Osbert gives more explicit references to Old Testament exile in a letter to an unnamed monk. Through the monk's travels he was

[25] 'ut aliquamdiu ecclesiae nostrae cederem et Eliensem ecclesiam ad quam missus sum visitarem': Osbert of Clare, *Letters*, p. 47.

[26] Osbert of Clare, *Letters*, p. 53. In another letter, while struck by illness in exile, Osbert compares himself to Samson, who lost his power after his hair was cut off. Osbert of Clare, *Letters*, pp. 112–13.

[27] Osbert of Clare, *Letters*, pp. 46, 44.

[28] Osbert of Clare, *Letters*, pp. 58, 60–61. Haye has rightly argued that even in cases where Osbert does not explicitly accuse individuals of betraying him, by simply placing himself within the context of biblical and classical models of exile he indirectly places those who sent him into exile in the role of historic oppressors. Haye, 'Alte und neue Heimat', p. 253.

[29] Osbert of Clare, *Letters*, pp. 114–15; Luke 10. 39–40.

[30] Osbert of Clare, *Letters*, p. 54.

[31] Osbert of Clare, *Letters*, p. 63.

[32] Osbert of Clare, *Letters*, p. 157.

tempted to return to the secular world, in Osbert's words into the 'servitude of Egypt'.[33] Osbert does not see these journeys in the context of the older Irish religious *peregrinationes*; they were dangerous undertakings not to be taken lightly.

While biblical exile was Osbert's main source for his models of exile, he does support these models with a few references to classical and early Christian sources. These references tend to fall into two categories. The first is where Osbert appears to use early Christian authors' discussions of biblical exile, such as where he uses language from the letters of Jerome or Gregory the Great.[34] The second use is in reference to peripheral aspects of his exile. When describing how he turned to studies for solace in his exile, Osbert uses a passage from Seneca saying, 'Leisure without studies is death, and it is the tomb of a living man.'[35] In a letter to Abbot Herbert of Westminster, Osbert complains that unfair treatment and slander has sent him into exile and uses examples from Gregory the Great's letters to argue that the Abbot should judge him fairly.[36]

Similarly, Osbert of Clare uses Boethius's misfortunes in his *Consolation of Philosophy* in one exilic letter, not as a direct model of his own exile, but rather as a model for the cause of his exile. Osbert uses passages from the *Consolation of Philosophy* to describe how he only took offices out of his desire for the common good, and likewise how his reputation was ruined for doing good.[37] While Boethius was 'accused of wishing for the safety of the Senate', Osbert 'wished for the safety of the chapter (*senatus*) of the Church'.[38] Also like Boethius, who turned to philosophy while imprisoned and awaiting death, Osbert found his *consolatio* while in exile in philosophy.[39]

Exile in the Hagiography of Osbert of Clare

Unlike Osbert of Clare's letters, perhaps the most interesting aspect of the theme of exile within his hagiography is not its frequency, but rather its absence. This is even

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[33] Osbert actually uses this phase to say that the monk was brought out 'of the servitude of Egypt through the blood of the immaculate lamb' ('per sanguinem agni immaculati de servitute Egypti'), thereby implying that the monk would be returning into servitude. Osbert of Clare, *Letters*, p. 101.

[34] For example, Osbert of Clare, *Letters*, pp. 47, 114–15.

[35] 'Otium sine litteris mors est, et vivi hominis sepultura': Osbert of Clare, *Letters*, p. 109; Seneca, *Ep.*, lxxxii, 3.

[36] Osbert of Clare, *Letters*, p. 50; Gregory I, *Ep.*, xiii, 44.

[37] Osbert of Clare, *Letters*, p. 56; Boethius, *Consolatio philosophiae*, bk 1, pros. 4 (*ad init*.) and (*ad fin*.).

[38] 'Senatum dicimur salvum esse voluisse': Boethius, *Consolatio philosophiae*, bk 1, pros. 4 (*med*.); 'senatum ecclesiae salvum esse voluimus': Osbert of Clare, *Letters*, p. 56.

[39] Osbert of Clare, *Letters*, p. 109.

true in places where an expansion of the theme of exile within the narrative seems appropriate. Perhaps the most poignant example of this is the *Vita Eadwardi*. Even though Edward the Confessor spent two and a half decades during his youth in exile in Normandy, Osbert does not attempt to put a religious spin on Edward's exile. Like the earlier *Vita Aedwardi Regis,* Osbert almost entirely ignores the exile, saying only, 'When the hail storm of the Danes roared, the glorious boy was taken across to his grandparents in Normandy, lest he be more quickly engulfed by the immense storm of the raging waves.'[40] Interestingly, Osbert employs an allusion to the biblical exile in Egypt when describing Edward's return and ascension to the throne. However, it is not Edward who was in exile, but rather the people of England who are in exile under Danish rule.[41] The lack of details concerning Edward's exile in Normandy can be attributed to the lack of information in Osbert's sources concerning this period in Edward's life, but this does not account for the lack of religious rhetoric. Osbert may have seen Edward's exile strictly as a political exile and therefore outside the scope of a religious *vita*, although later within the text Osbert, following after the anonymous *vita*, mentions that Edward miraculously healed many people while in Normandy.[42]

There is a different form of exile present in the *Vita Aethelbrichti*, in which Ethelbert's journey to Mercia to seek the hand of Offa's daughter, Alfrida, carries strong undertones of the Celtic *peregrinatio*. It is portrayed as a religious journey culminating in his martyrdom. Two natural phenomena, an earthquake and a solar eclipse, that prefigured his death exemplify this. Nevertheless, Osbert only discusses the importance of these signs as paralleling Ethelbert's martyrdom to that of Christ, and does not instil Ethelbert's journey with the imagery of exile.[43] Interestingly, in Osbert's principle source for the *Vita Aethelbrichti*, an earlier anonymous *Life*, there is a direct comparison between Ethelbert's departure from East Anglia and Abraham's

[40] 'Cumque Danorum fremeret tam grandinosa tempestas, ad auos suos in Neustriam gloriosus puer transducitur, ne tam immani procella seuientium fluctuum citius absorberetur': Osbert of Clare, *Vita beati Eadwardi regis Anglorum*, ed. by M. Bloch in '*La vie de S. Edouard le Confesseur par Osbert de Clare*', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 41 (1923), 64–131 (p. 72), hereafter cited as *Vita Eadwardi*.

[41] *Vita Eadwardi*, p. 73. As Osbert saw the people of England in exile, it is possible that he did not perceive Edward as also being in exile. It was England that faced the hardships and danger, while Edward was safe in Normandy. There is a possible parallel to this in a letter by Osbert to Anselm of Bury. In it Osbert expresses the dismay of everyone at Bury while Abbot Anselm is away on a journey: Osbert of Clare, *Letters*, pp. 62–64.

[42] Osbert of Clare, *Letters*, p. 93.

[43] Osbert of Clare, *Vita Aethelbrichti*, Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, MS Memb. I 81, fols 30^{rb}–39^{rb} (fols 33^{rb}–34^{rb}), hereafter cited as *Vita Aethelbrichti*. A large part of Osbert's *vita* is incorporated in Richard of Cirencester, *Speculum historiale*, 2 vols, ed. by J. Mayor, RS, 30, I, 262–93.

departure from his home and family.[44] In Osbert's rewriting of the *vita* he completely omits this comparison. Even Ethelbert's decision to take a wife shows him to be a king who is willing to give up his desire for the ascetic life for the good of his kingdom.[45] Far from portraying a leader ready to turn away from his people and country, this episode shows Osbert's Ethelbert as deeply concerned and involved with his kingdom. Osbert does lengthen the incident when Offa's daughter, Alfrida, decides to become an anchorite upon Ethelbert's death, however he does not add exilic rhetoric to this action.[46]

Like that of Princess Alfrida in Osbert of Clare's *Vita Aethelbrichti*, the sanctity of his Edburga rests in her self-exile into the religious community of Nunnaminster in Winchester. Unlike Alfrida, however, Edburga was sent to Nunnaminster as an infant. Nevertheless, Osbert emphasizes that 'by her example others learned to relinquish their people and their paternal home'.[47] Susan Ridyard has noted the paradox within Osbert's Edburga between the saintly nun who supposedly turns away from her secular life and the princess who is still very much a royal figure.[48] Osbert does not disguise the fact that although Edburga withdrew from the world, she did so in the royal foundation of Nunnaminster in the royal city of Winchester. Not only is Edburga herself a patroness of the monastic community, but also her father, King Edward, patronized the community on her behalf.[49] Therefore while Osbert attributes Edburga's sanctity to her monastic virtue, he does not appear to have seen this form of self-exile as related to either biblical exile or Osbert's own exile from Westminster.

Although Osbert of Clare saw monastic asceticism, or the desire for it, as a prominent characteristic in saints, he did not associate notions of physical exile with sanctity. This is particularly surprising since many of Osbert's hagiographic works were

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[44] *Passio sancti Aethelberhti regis et martiris*, ed. by M. R. James in 'Two Lives of St Ethelbert, King and Martyr', *EHR*, 32 (1917), 236–44 (p. 238).

[45] *Vita Aethelbrichti*, fols 31^{vb}–32ra; Richard of Cirencester, *Speculum historiale*, I, 266–67. Osbert hints that Edward the Confessor was convinced in a similar manner to marry for the security of the kingdom, although he nevertheless still remains celibate: *Vita Eadwardi*, pp. 74–75.

[46] *Vita Aethelbrichti*, fols 36ra–36va; *Passio sancti Athelberhti*, p. 240; this section is not in Richard of Cirencester. The lengthening of this section is about typical of Osbert's treatment of the anonymous work as a whole. It should be noted, however, that Osbert does emphasize the advantages of the abandonment of the secular world in that Alfrida would be able to dedicate herself constantly to prayer and meditation.

[47] 'huius exemplo discunt et populum suum et paternam domum relinquere': Osbert of Clare, *Vita et translatione et miraculis beate virginis Eadburge*, ed. by Susan Ridyard in *Royal Saints in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 253–308 (p. 285), hereafter cited as *Vita Eadburge*. This is a reference to Psalm 44. 11.

[48] Ridyard, *Royal Saints*, pp. 102–03.

[49] As shown by the incident where Edward granted the estate of All Cannings to Nunnaminster: *Vita Eadburge*, pp. 270–74.

probably either written while he was in exile or written in appreciation for assistance given while he was in exile. Because of his own experiences, Osbert perhaps saw physical exile as too mundane for his saints. His own poverty and hardships in exile lacked the sanctified honour of Columba's self-imposed exile on Iona. For Osbert, exile was caused by real conflicts where the person sent into exile was not always in the right. Although typically in his exilic letters Osbert portrays himself as a victim, he does hint in a reconciliatory note that he too was at fault.[50] This idea of the fallible individual in exile is hardly the image Osbert wanted to use in the portrayal of saints. Even in many of the Old Testament examples of exile, which Osbert often referred to in his letters, God imposed exile as a form of punishment.[51]

Friendship in Osbert's Writings

Like the theme of exile, discussions about the nature and responsibilities of friendship are common within Osbert of Clare's letters. Not surprisingly, although in his non-exilic letters Osbert speaks very highly of individuals, it is only in his exilic letters that his hardships prompted him to ponder the nature of friendship and the qualifications of a true friend. It was in times of hardship and exile that the need for assistance from friends necessitated discussions of the subject. Therefore, Osbert typically followed his examinations of friendship with a plea for help.[52] Quoting Jerome, Osbert states, 'If you have a friend then test him.'[53] It is through adversity that true friendship is seen, and it is this sort of true friendship that can solace the exile. 'In my expulsion I have discovered a thousand embraces, receptions, and comforts from friends; exile has turned into a home.'[54]

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[50] For example, in his letter to Abbot Herbert, Osbert claims that he is ready to respect him, implying a previous disobedience: Osbert of Clare, *Letters*, p. 52. He also notes in the same letter: 'If I did something, either foolishly or wisely, which displeased you, it was out of innocence and not ill-will or malice' ('Si aliquid vel insipienter vel sapienter egi quod tibi displicuit, non livoris aut malitiae sed simplicitatis fuit'): Osbert of Clare, *Letters*, p. 49.

[51] This is particularly true of group exiles in the Old Testament, such as the forty years of wandering in the desert and the Babylonian Captivity.

[52] For example, in a letter to Hugh of Amiens, Osbert follows perhaps his most complete examination of the subject with a description of his exile and a request for Hugh's help and prayers: Osbert of Clare, *Letters*, pp. 39–48.

[53] 'Si habes amicum, in temptatione posside illum': Osbert of Clare, *Letters*, p. 47; Jerome, *In Michaeam* II 7:5. Jerome is actually taking a passage from Ecclesiasticus 6. 7, which in the Vulgate reads: 'Si possides amicum in temptatione posside eum.' However, as Osbert uses Jerome's commentary elsewhere in his letters, it appears that he took the passage directly from it.

[54] 'pro expulsione mille amplexus et receptiones et solatia amicorum repperi: exilium in patriam versum est': Osbert of Clare, *Letters*, p. 53.

While Osbert principally uses examples of exile and his own exilic experiences in describing exile, he becomes much more theoretical in his discussions on friendship. Instead of just using examples of famous friendships, Osbert tries to look at the concept of friendship and the moral responsibilities attached to it. This is perhaps due to the nature of his sources. Unlike Osbert's models of exile, his discussions on friendship are principally based upon classical authors, some of whom, such as Cicero and Seneca, devoted significant time to the examination of the nature of friendship.

Reflections on what constitutes a true friend pervade most of Osbert's discussion of friendship in his letters. In Osbert's perception there was a large group of acquaintances and even those whom one loves (*amare*), who were not necessarily friends (*amicus*). Taking from Seneca, Osbert states that, 'Not all who love you are friends, but all friends love you.'[55] For Osbert true friendship could only be a union between equals. 'Where friendship is equal, all that you will have desired is granted; where one is superior he will disdain and look down on the inferior one.'[56]

Because of this very selective view of friendship, the way in which one chooses his or her friends was important to Osbert. In a letter to Hugh of Amiens, Osbert repeats Seneca's advice on making friends:

> Ponder for a long time whether you shall admit a given person to your friendship; but when you have decided to admit him, welcome him with all your heart and soul. Speak as boldly with him as with yourself. As to yourself, although you should live in such a way that you trust your own self with nothing which you could not entrust even to your enemy, yet, since certain matters occur which convention keeps secret, you should share with a friend at least all your worries and reflections. Regard him as loyal, and you will make him loyal.[57]

Besides showing the basic need of friends as confidants, Seneca, and Osbert through him, addresses the question of how liberal one should be with his or her friendship. There are two dangers in making imprudent friendships: that of confiding in too many and perhaps untrustworthy people, and that of confiding in no one and thereby going through life alone. Osbert returns to this theme in another letter where he draws from Seneca again, but continues with his own analysis:

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[55] 'Non omnis qui amat amicus est, sed omnis amicus amat': Osbert of Clare, *Letters*, p. 54. Seneca has 'Qui amicus est, amat; qui amat non utique amicus est': Seneca, *Ep.*, xxxv, 1.

[56] 'Amicitia ubi par est, quicquid volueris efficit: ubi superior est, inferiorem dedignatur ac despicit': Osbert of Clare, *Letters*, p. 55.

[57] 'Diu cogita an tibi aliquis in amicitiam recipiendus sit. Cum placuerit fieri, toto illum pectore admitte: tam audacter cum eo loquere quam tecum. Tu quidem ita vive ut nihil tibi committas nisi quod committere inimico tuo possis. Sed quia interveniunt quaedam quae consuetudo fecit arcana, cum amico omnes curas, omnes cogitationes tuas misce: fidelem, si putaveris, facies': Osbert of Clare, *Letters*, p. 39; Seneca. *Ep*, iii, 2–3. The English translation is taken from Seneca, *Moral Epistles*, 3 vols, trans. by R. M. Gummere (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1917–25), I, 10.

> 'There is a class of men who communicate, to anyone whom they meet, matters which should be revealed to friends alone, and unload upon the chance listener whatever irks them. Others, again, fear to confide in their closest intimates; and if it were possible, they would not trust even themselves, burying their secrets deep in their hearts. But we should do neither. It is equally faulty to trust everyone and to trust no one.'[58] This is Seneca. However, I say: Someone who entrusts himself to everybody gravely leads himself into error; someone who confides in no one never can rest his conscience.[59]

Not everything that Osbert wrote about friendship though was cynical or cautious. The selectiveness with which one should choose friends served to heighten the significance of those friendships. 'Friendship is a rare bird on Earth because it is rare among people.'[60] For Osbert a true friend was linked to the spirit of an individual. He praises Horace for praying for the safety of a friend by saying, 'Save the other half of my soul'.[61] Osbert saw this sort of idealistic friendship as deriving out of love (*ab amore*) rather than from selfish needs. Quoting Cicero's *De amicitia*, he argues, 'In friendship nothing is false, nothing is contrived, everything in friendship is true and voluntary. Therefore it seems more likely to me that friendship originates from nature rather than by need.'[62] Nevertheless, for Osbert writing in exile, the responsibility of friends in need was very important. He again draws from *De amicitia* in another letter, saying, 'Friendship makes the things following from it more splendid, and lightens burdens by splitting and sharing them.'[63] Thus assistance in times of trouble naturally emanates from friendship, but friendship does not originate out of the need for assistance.

Besides being interested in the nature of true friendship, Osbert was also interested in its antithesis, false friendship. The theme of false friendship is most thoroughly explored in two of Osbert of Clare's exilic letters to Westminster monks. In the first, to the presbyter Henry, he expresses his dismay that although Henry was

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[58] 'Quidam ea quae amicis committenda sunt obviis narrant, et in quaslibet aures quicquid illos urit exonerant: quidam rursus carissimorum etiam conscientiam reformidant, et, si possent qui ne sibi crediturii, interius premunt omne secretum. Neutrum enim faciendum est. Utrumque enim vitium est, et omni credere et nulli': Osbert of Clare, *Letters*, p. 54; Seneca, *Ep.*, iii, 4. The translation is from Seneca, *Moral Epistles*, I, 13.

[59] 'Haec Seneca. Ego autem dico: Qui omnibus credit seipsum graviter in errorem inducit; qui in nullo confidit, nunquam eius conscientia requiescit': Osbert of Clare, *Letters*, p. 54.

[60] 'Amicitia rara avis in terra, quia rara in hominibus est': Osbert of Clare, *Letters*, p. 55. The phrase *rara avis in terra* appears to be taken from Juvenal, *Satura*, vi, 165.

[61] 'Serves, inquit, animae dimidium meae': Osbert of Clare, *Letters*, p. 55; Horace, *Carmina*, i, 3, 8.

[62] 'In amicitia vera nihil est fictum, nihil simulatum, et quicquid est in amicitia verum, est et voluntarium; quapropter a natura mihi videtur potius quam ab indigentia orta amicitia': Osbert of Clare, *Letters*, p. 74; Cicero, *Laelius de amicitia*, xxvi–xxvii.

[63] 'Secundas enim res, teste Tullio, splendidiores facit amicitia, et adversas partiens communicansque leviores': Osbert of Clare, *Letters*, p. 110; Cicero, *Laelius de amicitia*, xxi.

a blood relation of Osbert's, he nevertheless betrayed him, even comparing Henry to Judas. Osbert then juxtaposes this with the friends whom he has found while in exile.[64] At his home at Westminster family members betrayed Osbert, but in exile he found friends. After a lengthy discussion on friendship, Osbert returns to the subject of his betrayal. Quoting Boethius he states, 'There is no more efficient ruin than a friend turned enemy.'[65] He takes a different tone in a letter to David, a monk of Westminster, which Osbert wrote to accept David's repentance.[66] Osbert compares his betrayal by his brethren at Westminster to Joseph being sold into exile, and near the end of the letter tells how he prays to God for the Westminster monks saying, 'Forgive them father for they know not what they do.'[67]

The language used by Osbert of Clare in his letters to describe friendship is typically fairly standard. The most frequent word for friend is *amicus* and the most common word that he uses for friendship is *amicitia*. Conversely he uses *inimicus* to describe enemies. Less frequently, Osbert uses the words *anima* and *familiaris* to describe friends and *familiaritas* to describe friendship. *Amicus*, *amicitia*, *familiaris*, and *familiaritas* are all common classical Latin words meaning 'friend' or 'friendship', and he uses them all both in passages which he borrows and in passages which are his own prose. He uses *amicus* and *familiaris* indiscriminately to mean 'friend', just as *amicitia* and *familiaritas* are used indiscriminately to mean 'friendship'. Osbert's use of *anima* for 'friend' is more interesting. Traditionally, in classical Latin *anima* was used to describe the soul or a breath. Horace, in a passage which Osbert quotes, perhaps comes closest to using *anima* to designate a friend when he described his friend as the other half of his soul.[68] In many places Osbert uses *anima* in a similar way to show the relationship between the soul and a true friend, although he does perhaps go further than Horace. While writing to Hugh of Amiens, Osbert refers to an individual named Roger as *altera anima mea*.[69] While Horace used *anima* to modify the central noun, Osbert places *anima* as the central noun; thereby Roger himself becomes the *anima*.

Like exile as a theme, friends and friendship do not play a significant role in Osbert of Clare's hagiography. This perhaps is due to Osbert's view of the relationship of friends. True friends had to be equals, and Osbert's saints were equals only with other saints or great kings. This is emphasized by Osbert's heavy additions to the genealogies of his saints, showing their saintly and royal lineage, while he portrays

[64] Osbert of Clare, *Letters*, pp. 53–54.

[65] 'Nulla, inquit, efficacior pestis quam familiaris inimicus': Osbert of Clare, *Letters*, p. 55; Boethius, *Consolatio philosophiae*, bk 3, pros. 5.

[66] Osbert of Clare, *Letters*, pp. 58–62.

[67] 'Pater, ignosce illis, non enim sciunt quid faciunt': Osbert of Clare, *Letters*, p. 61. The Latin Vulgate has *demitte* rather than *ignosce*: Luke 13. 34.

[68] Horace, *Carmina*, i, 3, 8; Osbert of Clare, *Letters*, p. 55.

[69] Osbert of Clare, *Letters*, p. 48.

them as somewhat distant from their contemporaries. They are above those around them in sanctity, yet they often act as if they are below them because of their humility. Perhaps the one exception to this is Ethelbert's head noble, Oswald, whom Osbert describes as Ethelbert's friend (*familiaris*).[70] While most of the nobles in the *Vita Aethelbrichti* and the *Vita Eadwardi* are portrayed as mere witnesses to the saintly works of their lords, Oswald counsels Ethelbert both in political matters, such as suggesting that he marry King Offa's daughter, Alfrida,[71] and in spiritual matters, such as interpreting a vision.[72] Similarly, Edburga in Osbert's *Vita Eadburge* surpasses her fellow nuns, and even her prioress, both in her personal sanctity and in her royal birth.

It was the practical nature of Osbert's discussions of both friendship and exile that ensured them a central role in his letters and that ultimately ensured that they were left out of his hagiography. These themes were developed in Osbert's letters out of necessity: the necessity of coping with the trials that the exiled individual faced and attempting to put those trials into a larger context, and the necessity of having loyal friends to support him through hard times. Similarly, it was the lack of this necessity, and perhaps also Osbert's negative experiences in his own exile, that ensured that the themes of exile and friendships did not play a significant role in his hagiography. Even in the worst periods of his exile, however, Osbert still held onto hope and the belief that he, like the citizens of Jerusalem, would be brought out of Babylon.

[70] *Vita Aethelbrichti*, fol. 32^{rb}; Richard of Cirencester, *Speculum historiale*, I, 268.

[71] *Vita Aethelbrichti*, fols 32^{rb}–32va; Richard of Cirencester, *Speculum historiale*, I, 268–69.

[72] This incident does not survive in the sole extant manuscript of Osbert's *Vita Aethebrichti*, but this is likely an omission in the manuscript and not in Osbert's *Life*. It does however survive in Richard of Cirencester, *Speculum historiale*, I, 282–83.

Exclusion as Exile: Spiritual Punishment and Physical Illness in Normandy *c*. 1050–1300

LEONIE HICKS

This essay considers the process of excommunication within a religious context and illness as motives for exclusion, and thus exile, from the wider spiritual community.[1] I focus on information found in the letters of Lanfranc (1070–89) and Anselm (1093–1109), archbishops of Canterbury, and of Bishop Arnulf of Lisieux (d. 1184), and also the visitation records of Stephen of Lexinton, abbot of Savigny (1229–33), and Eudes Rigaud, archbishop of Rouen (1248–75).[2] Other evidence may be found in chronicles like Orderic Vitalis's *Ecclesiastical History* (*c*. 1110–41) with

[1] For excommunication more generally, see E. Vodola, *Excommunication in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); A. Murray, *Excommunication and Conscience in the Middles Ages*, The John Coffin Memorial Lecture, 13th February 1991 (London: University of London, 1991); and R. H. Helmholz, 'Excommunication and the Angevin Leap Forward', *Haskins Society Journal*, 7 (1995), 133–49. For the political consequences of exile, see Laura Napran's essay on excommunication in this volume.

[2] *The Letters of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. and trans. by H. Clover and M. Gibson, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979); *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi opera omnia*, ed. by F. S. Schmitt, 6 vols (Edinburgh: Nelson and Sons, 1946–61), and *The Letters of Saint Anselm of Canterbury,* ed. by W. Fröhlich, 3 vols, Cistercian Studies, 96–97 and 142 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1990–95); *The Letters of Arnulf of Lisieux*, ed. by F. Barlow, Camden Third Series, 61 (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1939), and *The Letter Collections of Arnulf of Lisieux*, trans. by C. P. Schriber, Texts and Studies in Religion, 72 (Lampeter: E. Mellen, 1997); Eudes Rigaud, *Regestrum visitationum archiepiscopi Rothomagensis: Journal des visites pastorales d'Eude Rigaud, archevêque de Rouen*, ed. by T. Bonnin (Rouen: Auguste le Brument, 1852), and *The Register of Eudes of Rouen,* ed. by J. O'Sullivan and trans. by R. Brown, Records of Civilisation: Sources and Studies, 72 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964); and Stephen of Lexinton, *Registrum epistolarum Stephani de Lexinton Pars II. Epistolae et tempus regiminis in Savigniaco pertinentes* (1230–39), ed. by P. Bruno Greisser, *Analecta Cisterciensia*, 8 (1952), 181–378.

comparative material from England, for example, the letters of John of Salisbury (*c*. 1120–80).[3] The approach taken here sets the process of exclusion in a spatial context.[4] The essay is in two parts: spiritual punishment (subdivided into monastic excommunication and sentences of excommunication passed on concubinary priests), and physical illness, concentrating on the use of the monastic infirmary.

Spiritual Punishment

Excommunication entailed the exclusion of the individual from the Church and its sacraments. In this context, excommunication also entailed exile from the monastic community, or secular parish in the case of priests and their wives or concubines.

Monastic excommunication was the ultimate punishment of an individual deemed to be in grave fault. The Benedictine Rule states that any individual at fault should, 'according to our Lord's command, be secretly admonished once and a second time by his seniors. If he do not amend, let him be reproved publicly before all. If even thus he do not correct himself, let him undergo excommunication.'[5] Expulsion could, however, be a temporary or permanent measure depending on the severity of the fault and the individual's desire to reform, as a later chapter of the Rule makes clear. For example, if a monk was 'found out in lighter faults, let him be deprived of sharing at table'.[6] More serious faults resulted in temporary exclusion from all common activities.[7] Exclusion from the various spaces that comprised a monastery, for example, the refectory and church, was therefore an important part of monastic punishment.[8] The monastic ideal involved the worship of God whilst living in community with like-minded people. Failure to observe the Rule correctly harmed not only the individual but also the corporate monastic body. Consequently, the individual at fault was barred from communal activities until he or she repented.

As monastic Rules were concerned with promoting the common life as a means of devotion to and worship of God, the examples of monastic excommunication from

[3] Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, and *Letters of John of Salisbury*.

[4] This work originates from my doctoral thesis, L. Hicks, 'Women and the Use of Space in Normandy *c*. 1050–1300' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, 2002).

[5] *The Rule of Benedict, a Guide to Christian Living*, ed. by G. Holzherr and trans. by the monks of Glenstal Abbey (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1994), ch. 22, p. 154. See also ch. 28. For a discussion of the Rule in this context, see F. Donald Logan, *Runaway Religious in Medieval England c. 1240–1540*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 4th series, 32 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 147–50.

[6] *Rule of Benedict*, ch. 24, p. 159.

[7] *Rule of Benedict*, ch. 25, p. 161.

[8] See V. I. J. Flint, 'Space and Discipline in Early Medieval Europe', in *Medieval Practices of Space*, ed. by B. A. Hanawalt and M. Kobialka, Medieval Cultures, 23 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), pp. 149–66.

Normandy relate to the undermining of the common life. Examples from the Norman sources are varied in the thirteenth century. Sister Lucy of Crèvecour of the abbey of La Trinité in Caen was excommunicated by Archbishop Eudes for her candidacy in a disputed election for the position of abbess which caused great dissent amongst the community.[9] Although the sentence of excommunication was revoked she was also sentenced to three disciplines in chapter as well as additional penances, for example, fasting.[10] In this way, space was used not only as a means of enforcing the punishment, but also displaying it and the sinner's repentance to a wider audience, namely the rest of the community. Occasionally the Archbishop records where excommunicate monastics were sent. Agnes of Pont, a nun of St-Aubin, was sent to one of the leper houses in Rouen for her role in helping Eustasia, another nun of the same house, to procure an abortion.[11] This same Eustasia along with Alice of Rouen actually had her veil removed by Archbishop Eudes 'because of their fornications' in a move equivalent to a soldier being dishonourably discharged.[12] Caleboche and another monk at Ste-Catherine, Rouen, were actually incarcerated in their monastery's prison for singing dissolute songs. In addition, they were to have no food and to be subjected to flagellation.[13] That prisons were considered to be an integral space in the monastery plan can be seen from earlier examples. Lanfranc of Canterbury made provision for a prison to hold rebel monks at the cathedral priory of Christ Church, Canterbury, as recorded in his eleventh-century *Constitutions*.[14] Later, Eudes Rigaud instructed the monks at Juziers to build their prison 'outside the consecrated ground and outside the churchyard' (*extra locum sanctum et extra cimiterium*).[15] In this way,

[9] La Trinité, Caen: dép. Calvados, a Benedictine abbey founded by Duke William and Duchess Matilda in *c*. 1059. I am grateful to John Walmsley of Macquarie University for his unpublished list of Norman nunneries. All details of foundation for the nunneries are taken from this list unless otherwise stated.

[10] Eudes Rigaud, *Regestrum visitationum*, pp. 591–92, and *Register*, p. 681.

[11] Eudes does not mention to which leper house Agnes was sent: Eudes Rigaud, *Regestrum visitationum*, p. 255, and *Register*, p. 285. St-Aubin (Gournay-en-Bray): dép. Seine-Maritime, arr. Neufchâtel, cant. chef-lieu was a Cistercian priory founded in 1200 by Hugh of Gournay.

[12] Eudes Rigaud, *Regestrum visitationum*, p. 255, and *Register,* p. 285.

[13] Eudes Rigaud, *Regestrum visitationum*, p. 103, and *Register*, p. 118. Ste-Catherine-du-Mont: dép. Seine-Maritime, arr. Rouen, a Benedictine abbey founded before 1030 by Goscelin, viscount of Arques; J. Cottineau, *Répertoire topo-bibliographique des abbayes et prieurés*, 3 vols (Macon: Protat Frères, 1939), II, cols 2544–45.

[14] *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, ed. and trans. by D. Knowles and C. N. L. Brooke, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), pp. 152–53. Christ Church was the Benedictine cathedral priory in Canterbury, founded in 997: *The Heads of Religious Houses England and Wales*, vol. I, *940–1216*, ed. by D. Knowles, C. N. L. Brooke, and V. C. M. London, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 33.

[15] Eudes Rigaud, *Regestrum visitationum*, p. 350, and *Register*, p. 397. Juziers: dép. Seine-et-Oise, arr. Mantes, cant. Limay, was a Benedictine priory dependent on St-Père-de-Chartres

monastic communities created a space, separated from the rest of the monastery, to which transgressors of the Rule might be sent. The prison reduced the risk of encouraging others by bad example, whilst providing a space in which the perpetrator of the wrong might reflect on his or her actions.

Individuals were automatically deemed to be excommunicate if they were apostate, that is to say, if they had rejected their vows and the monastic life.[16] In the eyes of the ecclesiastical authorities, they had broken a sacred vow and had put themselves outside the monastic community, and were therefore in grave fault. The statutes of the Council of Rouen in 1072, preserved by Orderic Vitalis, are quite clear in their admonition that 'those who have received the tonsure and abandon it are to be excommunicated until they make satisfaction'.[17] One clear example of monastic apostasy from Normandy is the case of Agnes of Merla. Agnes was a nun at the Cistercian house of L'Abbaye Blanche in Mortain who, in 1232, left after thirty years in the community.[18] According to letters included in Stephen of Lexinton's visitation records, she fled by night, abandoning her habit and returning to debauchery (*vomitus*).[19] She was duly declared excommunicate by the ecclesiastical authorities, though both Stephen and the community continued to hope that she might return.[20] It is possible that this woman left with a man, perhaps in order to be married. Examples exist from Normandy and elsewhere showing that women did on occasion leave their communities to marry like an anonymous woman from the priory of Villarceaux.[21] Archbishop

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founded in 978 by Countess Leutgarde; Cottineau, *Répertoire topo-bibliographique*, I, col. 1503. Monastic imprisonment is further discussed by M. Cassidy-Welch in *Monastic Spaces and their Meanings*, Medieval Church Studies, 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), pp. 122–23, and 'Incarceration and Liberation: Prisons in the Cistercian Monastery', *Viator*, 32 (2001), 23–42, and by J. Dunbabin, *Captivity and Imprisonment in Medieval Europe, 1000–1300*, Medieval Culture and Society (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003), pp. 145–46.

[16] For a fuller discussion of monastic apostates, see Logan, *Runaway Religious*.

[17] Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, II, 288–89.

[18] Dép. Calvados, arr. chef-lieu. Mortain was probably founded in 1105 by William, count of Mortain.

[19] Stephen of Lexinton, *Registrum epistolarum*, p. 246. Laura Napran, in a personal communication, has suggested that this might be a case of abduction or elopement. C. Waddell speculates that Agnes returned to Mortain to live as a secular: 'One Day in the Life of the Savigniac Nun: Jehanne de Deniscourt', *Cistercian Studies Quarterly*, 26.2 (1991), 135–51 (p. 149).

[20] For what might be expected of Agnes if she returned to the cloister, see Abbot Stephen's letter to the Prior of Villers-Canivet in which he lays down the penances required from a fugitive monk before he can be readmitted to the community: Stephen of Lexinton, *Registrum epistolarum*, pp. 296–98. The fugitive was presumably one of the brothers tasked with providing practical and spiritual assistance to the nuns.

[21] Eudes Rigaud, *Regestrum visitationum*, p. 117, and *Register*, p. 132. Villarceaux: dép. Seine-et-Oise, arr. Mantes, cant. Magny-en-Vexin, was a Benedictine priory dependent on St-

Eudes does not give us a reason for her marriage. It is possible she was sent to the priory as a child oblate and that once she reached the age of majority she decided to exercise her right not to take vows, or perhaps her family decided that it was now more advantageous to them for her to be married off rather than remain in the nunnery. An example from outside Normandy supports this idea. Marie of Boulogne, the daughter of King Stephen (1135–54) and Queen Matilda III (d. 1152), was forced to leave her place as the abbess of Romsey Abbey in Hampshire to marry Matthew of Flanders in 1160 and so rescue the Boulogne lineage.[22] After giving birth to two daughters, she eventually returned to the religious life at St-Autrebert in Montreuil.[23]

Other examples from the visitation records are not as clear-cut but contain the presumption of apostasy. William of Moncel, described by Archbishop Eudes Rigaud as a fugitive monk, was absent for four years from Le Tréport.[24] John Gaul of Ouville had left his house so often that the Archbishop instructed the prior 'to prepare for him a place in some remote part of the house', presumably to prevent him from encouraging others amongst the brethren to follow his example. If John left again he was to be permanently expelled from the order.[25] In 1263 two nuns from St-Aubin, Alice of Rouen and Beatrice, were 'led away by frivolity of soul'.[26]

Cyr founded in 1164 or earlier by King Louis VII (1137–80); B. Venarde, *Women's Monasticism and Medieval Society: Monasteries in France and England, 890–1215* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997), p. 204.

[22] Romsey (Hampshire) was a Benedictine abbey refounded in 967; *Heads of Religious Houses*, vol. I, ed. by Knowles, Brooke, and London, p. 218. For a detailed discussion of this marriage, see Laura Napran's essay in this volume.

[23] Gilbert of Mons, p. 90; and Robert of Torigny, *Chronica*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, ed. by R. Howlett, 4 vols, RS, 82, IV, 207. See also L. Napran, 'Marriage Contracts in Northern France and the Southern Low Countries' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Cambridge, 2001), p. 154; and E. van Houts, *Memory and Gender in Medieval Europe 900–1200*, Explorations in Medieval Culture and Society (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), p. 75. Ste-Autrebert, Montreuil: dép: Pas de Calais, arr. chef-lieu, was a Benedictine house refounded in 1032; Cottineau, *Répertoire topo-bibliographique*, II, col. 1974.

[24] Eudes Rigaud, *Regestrum visitationum*, p. 100, and *Register*, p. 114. Le Tréport: dép. Seine-Maritime, arr. Dieppe, cant. Eu was a Benedictine abbey founded in 1053 by Robert I, count of Eu; Cottineau, *Répertoire topo-bibliographique*, II, col. 3208.

[25] Eudes Rigaud, *Regestrum visitationum*, p. 54, and *Register*, p. 59. Ouville: dép. Seine-Maritime, arr. Yvetot, cant. Yerville, comm. Ouville-l'Abbaye, Augustinian canons regular founded in the twelfth century; M. Arnoux, 'Les Origines et le développement du mouvement canonial en Normandie', in *Des clercs au service de la réforme: Études et documents sur les chanoines réguliers de la province de Rouen*, Biblioteca Victorina, 11 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 11–172 (p. 22).

[26] Eudes Rigaud, *Regestrum visitationum*, p. 471, and *Register*, p. 537.

In the case of some of the women who left their orders and were thus in a state of apostasy, the sources give a clearer indication of their reasons for leaving.[27] A much earlier example from eleventh-century Normandy involves the sisters of Robert of Grandmesnil who was Abbot of St-Évroult before being forced into exile in *c*. 1061.[28] It appears that Judith and Emma sought protection at their brother's monastery by donning the monastic habit. However, Orderic records that once they heard that their brother was safe and well in Italy, they renounced any vows they might have taken and set off to join him.[29] Comparative cases exist from England following the Norman Conquest in 1066 and can be found in the letters of Lanfranc and Anselm, archbishops of Canterbury. Both these men regarded the adoption of monastic dress as a tacit profession of a vocation, an idea which carried through into the later Middle Ages.[30] Their attitude led to difficulties for some women in England who had fled to nunneries to escape the Normans, for example Matilda, wife of King Henry I. Matilda was brought up at the abbeys of Romsey and Wilton and on the insistence of her aunt, Christine, wore the veil to preserve her from the lust of the Normans.[31] Lanfranc eventually decided that if it could be proved that a woman had donned a veil for her own protection rather than through a vocation she could leave the monastery and return to secular life. He did, however, make the point that 'nuns who have made profession that they will keep a Rule or who although not yet professed have been presented at the altar, are to be enjoined, exhorted and obliged to keep the Rule in their manner of life'.[32] Lanfranc's successor, Anselm, also adopted this attitude as can be seen from one of his letters to Gunhilda, the daughter of King Harold (d. 1066), who had stayed at the abbey of Wilton:

> Even though you were not consecrated by the bishop and did not read your vows in his presence, nevertheless these vows were evident and cannot be denied since you wore the habit of your holy intention, both in public and in private, and through this you affirmed to everyone who saw you that you were dedicated to God no less than if you had read out your vows.[33]

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[27] See also Logan, *Runaway Religious*, pp. 83–89.

[28] Dép. Orne, arr. Argentan, cant. La Ferté-Frenel. Originally founded by Saint Évroult in 593 and refounded in 1058; Cottineau, *Répertoire topo-bibliographique*, II, cols 2669–71.

[29] Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, II, 76, and n. 3.

[30] Logan, *Runaway Religious*, pp. 25–26.

[31] *HN*, pp. 127–28, and Eadmer, *Eadmer's History of Recent Events in England: Historia novorum in Anglia*, trans. by G. Bosanquet, Nelson Medieval Texts (London: Nelson and Sons, 1964), p. 122.

[32] *Letters of Lanfranc*, no. 53, pp. 166–67.

[33] *S. Anselmi cantuariensis archiepiscopi opera omnia*, IV, no. 168, pp. 43–46, and *The Letters of Saint Anselm of Canterbury*, II, no. 168, p. 66. See also E. Bos, 'Gender and Religious Guidance in the Twelfth Century' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Cambridge,

It seems from this quotation that Anselm was hoping to convert Gunhilda from a woman who had taken the veil as a means of protection, to one who had a willing desire to become a nun.[34]

It is clear from these examples that excommunication from a monastic community involved a very real degree of exclusion. Although individuals might be taken back into the community up to three times, persistent offenders were permanently expelled.[35] Excommunication involved removal from one spatial domain to another and was thus a physical form of exile. In some cases this removal was temporary: for example, Agnes of Pont, a nun of St-Aubin mentioned above, was sent to the leper house to serve out her penance. Presumably, once this was completed she could return to her community. Even within monastic houses, areas were set aside for offenders such as the prison that held Caleboche and his friend. Although they were still situated within the monastic precincts, they were to all intents and purposes barred from communal activities until they repented. In the case of John Gaul, his prison seems to have been a permanent one and thus he was sentenced to live out the rest of his days on the margins of his former home and community. His only choice was to remain in isolation or risk damnation by becoming apostate. In the case of professed monastics who had turned apostate, their spatial dislocation was several fold. Not only were they moving from the cloister, the innermost heart of the monastic community, to its boundaries, they were also moving from a religious to a lay context. Theologically speaking, they were also moving from the saved to the damned. Very few reasons are given for monastics turning apostate. It is known that women were removed to form marriage alliances, but why men left is less clear. We can speculate that for some monastics, the choice of profession was so unsuitable that the risk of excommunication was preferable. Of course, the sources do not permit us to see the results of such actions or indeed how strictly the sentence was enforced.

For secular priests, as opposed to professed religious, and their wives and concubines, sentences of excommunication entailed the removal not only from the church and its sacraments but also from the immediate secular community of the parish. The theological arguments against clerical marriage centred on the fact that sex was impure and sinful and would thus contaminate any liturgical action the priest performed. James Brundage, however, argues that reformers called for the liberation of clergy from their wives and concubines as a precondition for the liberation of Church

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1999), pp. 43 n. 72 and 222–29. Wilton (Wiltshire) was a Benedictine abbey founded in 890; *Heads of Religious Houses*, vol. I, ed. by Knowles, Brooke, and London, p. 222.

[34] In this context, it is interesting to note that Anselm's admonition of Gunhilda contrasts with his advice to Countess Matilda of Tuscany to keep a veil handy so that when she was in danger she could pop it on her head. Anselm of course had no doubt as to Matilda's strong spirituality stemming from her material support for Pope Gregory VII (1073–85); *S. Anselmi cantuariensis archiepiscopi opera omnia*, IV, no. 325, p. 257, and *The Letters of Saint Anselm of Canterbury*, III, no. 325, p. 39. See also Bos, 'Gender and Religious Guidance', p. 158.

[35] *Rule of Benedict*, ch. 29, p. 172.

property from lay control as a whole.[36] Too much Church property had disappeared into the hands of priests' offspring. Peter Damian's (1007–72) disgust of marriage and sexual relations was formulated in arguments concerning the Church's property. He believed that the married clergy would be expensive to maintain as they had to provide for wives and children. This he reasoned was why priests alienated ecclesiastical property to their families.[37] In some respects then, the desire to maintain a celibate clergy stemmed from the need to keep apart those in society with religious duties from those without. This degree of exclusion can be seen in synodal statutes. Canons six and seven of Lateran II, 1139, went further and decreed that priests' marriages should be broken up, both parties were to do penance, and those who resisted should be deprived of their benefices.[38] As clerical marriages were deemed invalid, any children of those marriages were stripped of their legitimacy. This continued to be the Church's policy throughout the Middle Ages, though in practice, as we shall see, it was unworkable, and bishops often had no means to enforce the canon law in the localities.

In 1049, Pope Leo IX (1048–54) decreed that the concubines of Roman clerics should not only be separated from their lovers but also be forced into servitude as chattels of the Lateran Palace.[39] Writing in the early thirteenth century, Thomas of Chobham (d. 1233–36) observed that the harsh penalties prescribed in the canons, notably enslavement, were no longer enforced. He argued that bishops should deal more firmly with the concubines. They should at least forbid these women to be given the kiss of peace during Mass.[40] Some thirteenth-century English synods and decrees prescribed shaving the heads of concubines, denying them the sacraments, and ostracizing them socially.[41] Brundage argues that this strategy marked a

[36] J. A. Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), p. 214. See also P. Beaudette, '"In the World but Not of It": Clerical Celibacy as a Symbol of the Medieval Church', in *Medieval Purity and Piety: Essays on Medieval Clerical Celibacy*, ed. by M. Frassetto, Garland Medieval Casebooks, 19 (New York: Garland, 1998), pp. 34–36.

[37] Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society*, p. 215.

[38] *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, vol. I, *Nicea to Lateran V*, ed. by N. P. Tanner (London: Sheed and Ward, 1990), p. 198. This statute was repeated in Canon 11 of Lateran III, pp. 217–18.

[39] Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society*, p. 218. See also canon 12 of the Synod of Melfi, 1089: *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. by J. D. Mansi, 31 vols (Florence, 1759–98), XX (1775), col. 724.

[40] Thomas of Chobham, *Summa confessorum*, ed. by F. Broomfield, Analecta Mediaevalia Namurcensia, 25 (Leuven: Éditions Nauwelaerts, 1968), pp. 385–87.

[41] *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church*, vol. II, *1205–1313*, ed. by F. M. Powicke and C. R. Cheney, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), I, 62–63 for Salisbury, 1217x1219; pp. 154–55 for a decree for the province of Canterbury, 1225; and p. 180 for Worcester, 1229.

dramatic change from the Church first condoning, then discouraging clerical concubinage and finally penalizing the women who were its victims.[42]

Sources from within Normandy give us an indication of how bishops sought to impose the Church's rules on clerical celibacy and the effect these attempts had on the priests and their families. Archbishop John of Rouen (1067–79) was the first to try to impose celibacy on all clergy above sub-deacon.[43] When, in 1072, he ordered those in major orders to abandon their concubines, he was stoned for his pains.[44] In a letter from Archbishop Lanfranc dated to between April 1076 and July 1077 to John, Lanfranc makes it clear that canons were prohibited from taking or keeping a wife unless they renounced their prebends.[45] Problems relating to clerical celibacy continued in the Rouen archdiocese during the first decades of the twelfth century. When Archbishop Geoffrey (1111–28) tried to enforce the canons of the Council of Reims in 1119 relating to clergy cohabiting with women, he sparked a riot in Rouen cathedral.[46] After ordering that 'one eloquent priest, Albert' should be 'seized and thrown forthwith into the prison dungeon', the Archbishop ran out of the synod and summoned his retainers who physically attacked the priests. The priests drove the retainers back to the Archbishop's private apartments, before being driven back to the church by a mob reinforced by 'cooks, bakers and attendants who were at hand'.[47] In *c*. 1178–79, Bishop Arnulf of Lisieux encountered similar problems amongst the canons of his cathedral. In a letter to Pope Alexander III (1159–81) he wrote:

> I immediately from the beginning took steps to purge the wantonness customary to the church. To remove the old canons involved in concubinage required a hand of necessary severity. One day, for the assurance of their virtue, I caused eighteen concubines to be abjured publicly by the canons.[48]

In this example, it was the women rather than the clerics that were exiled from their community. Although 'the old canons' did not return to their concubines, their successors established new partners, and even children, in the cathedral neighbourhood:

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[42] Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society*, p. 405.

[43] P. Bouet and M. Dosdat, 'Les Évêques normands de 985 à 1150', in *Les Évêques normands du XI^e siècle*, ed. by P. Bouet and F. Neveux (Caen: Presses Universitaires de Caen, 1995), pp. 19–57 (p. 20).

[44] Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, II, 200.

[45] *Letters of Lanfranc*, no. 41, p. 135.

[46] For Archbishop Geoffrey, see Bouet and Dosdat, 'Les Évêques normands', p. 21. The Council of Reims is known only from Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, VI, 291 n. 4. Orderic seems to blame Geoffrey's temperament for this episode: 'Geoffrey was a Breton, reckless in many ways, tenacious and choleric, stern in face and gesture, severe in his rebukes, offensive and garrulous': VI, 293.

[47] Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, VI, 290–95.

[48] *Letters of Arnulf of Lisieux*, no. 132, p. 198, and *Letter Collections of Arnulf of Lisieux*, p. 256.

> No evidence can easily be shown; I could not pass sentence from suspicion alone; and their very number defended them with a multitude of prevarications. Yet what had been committed by many could not be concealed. The labour pains of birth were making the new men stronger and the whole neighbourhood was celebrating the new cradles.[49]

The thirteenth-century register of Archbishop Eudes of Rouen contains a great many examples of women involved in long-term relationships with the clergy at any one time. It is not always clear from the register what sort of relationship was involved. A number of entries, however, do refer to women who were 'kept' or described as concubines for a long time. These relationships seem to be marriages in all but name. For example, Richard, the priest at Rouxmesnil, had kept a woman for a long time and had a child by her.[50] The priest at Marcaise was said to have had a servant concubine, whereas Matthew, a canon of the chapter of St-Hildevert in Gournay, had kept a woman from Les Andelys for fourteen years, and it was believed that she was still living in his house.[51] The problem of clerical concubinage was not one that was going to be solved easily.

Although canon law dictated that unions between priests and their concubines should be broken up, with the women sent away and persistent offenders deprived of their benefices, in practice this proved very difficult. Women established homes for priests much as they would for husbands who were laymen. They were most unwilling to have them broken up and actively sought to prevent this happening. Such action is illustrated brilliantly by one of Bishop Arnulf's letters to Pope Alexander II about Hamon, one of his parish priests. The word 'concubine' does not do justice to the nature of this relationship which seems to have been a marriage in all but name. Hamon had apparently kept the anonymous woman 'in his house and table and bed' for more than thirty years and had fathered many children. The couple were quite open in their relations as he did not keep her hidden by a veil, and they had publicly celebrated the marriages of their daughters, clearly a sign that they considered their daughters to be legitimate.[52] Arnulf wanted Hamon to repudiate his partner and take up a life of celibacy. Not only was Hamon unwilling to do this, but his partner and their daughters actively sought to prevent the break up of their family and home when they 'assaulted and atrociously laid impious hands on the two priests' Arnulf had sent to their house.[53] By taking such action, Hamon and his partner risked

[49] *Letters of Arnulf of Lisieux*, no. 132, p. 199, and *Letter Collections of Arnulf of Lisieux*, pp. 256–57.

[50] Eudes Rigaud, *Regestrum visitationum*, p. 17, and *Register*, p. 20.

[51] Eudes Rigaud, *Regestrum visitationum*, pp. 26, 466, and *Register*, pp. 30, 531.

[52] *Letters of Arnulf of Lisieux*, no. 115, pp. 177–78, and *Letter Collections of Arnulf of Lisieux*, p. 259.

[53] *Letters of Arnulf of Lisieux*, no. 115, pp. 177–78, and *Letter Collections of Arnulf of Lisieux*, p. 259. Outrage at members of the clergy blatantly flouting the rules on celibacy extended to England. John of Salisbury was furious that Walkelin, archdeacon of Suffolk, had called his son by a concubine, Adrian, after the pope. Walkelin had gone on pilgrimage,

ostracizing themselves and their family from the Church. In this case though, it would seem that the lay community accepted their relationship judging from the fact that Hamon's daughters had found husbands and that it was only the actions of a reforming bishop that sought to break up the family. Half a century earlier, in a letter (dated *c*. 1102 or 1103) from Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, to Herbert Losinga, bishop of Norwich (1091–1119), Anselm states that the concubinary priests should be replaced with chaste priests. If the expelled priests then attacked their replacements, 'not only should they [the new priests] exclude them and their women from their community but also from the lands which they hold'.[54] To some priests then, the support and love offered by their relationships with women was worth risking something akin to exile, though the support of the lay community was clearly needed if the Church wished to ostracize them fully.

Physical Illness

In this section, I will focus on the use of the monastic infirmary as a means of exclusion. The idea of leprosy as entailing a form of exile has been discussed elsewhere.[55] The infirmary was a place of retreat to which monastics retired if they were unable to take part fully in communal life due to either illness or age.

The infirmary was located away from the cloister and thus away from the main community. This situation follows the Rule of Saint Benedict which states that 'a separate cell shall be set aside for [. . .] sick brethren and an infirmarian who is God-fearing, diligent and assiduous'.[56] According to Lanfranc's late eleventh-century *Constitutions* for Christ Church, Canterbury, the infirmarian was to have his own cook and a separate kitchen if the plan of the buildings and resources allowed. Brethren were only to go to the infirmary if they were too ill to remain with the community.[57] The infirmary was therefore a place apart and its inmates in temporary exile from the full monastic community. There are several reasons for this situation. David

leaving his pregnant partner with instructions to name the child Benevento if a boy and if a girl, Adriana; *Letters of John of Salisbury*, I, no. 15, pp. 24–25.

[54] *S. Anselmi cantuariensis archiepiscopi opera omnia*, IV, no. 254, pp. 165–66, and *Letters of Saint Anselm of Canterbury*, II, no. 254, pp. 242–43. Prior to 1094, Herbert's see was located in Thetford.

[55] See, e.g., F. Bériac, *Des lépreux aux cagots: Recherches sur les sociétés marginales en Aquitaine médiévale* (Bordeaux: Fédération historique du Sud-Ouest, 1990), and *Histoire des lépreux au Moyen Âge une société d'exclus* (Paris: Imago, 1988). For the idea of leprosy as a vocation entailing voluntary exile, see F.-O. Touati, *Maladie et société au Moyen Âge: La Lèpre, les lépreux et les léprosaries dans la province ecclésiastique de Sens jusqu'au milieu du XVI siècle*, Bibliothèque du Moyen Âge, 11 (Paris: De Boeck Université, 1998).

[56] *Rule of Benedict*, ch. 36, p. 193.

[57] *Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, pp. 132–33, 176–77.

Bell asserts that Cistercian infirmaries in England and Wales were not only placed to the east of the cloister but towards the south; therefore they were situated near the monastery's water supply.[58] From what we know of the location of infirmaries at, for example, Montivilliers and Fontaine-Guérard, the same is true for Normandy.[59] Water was essential in an infirmary for flushing latrines, cleaning, and bathing. In addition, locating the infirmary at some distance from the main body of the community was a practical move to separate the sick and the healthy.[60] The separation of the sick stemmed from the stigma medieval society attached to illness. Whereas sickness could by deemed a gift from God that would lighten suffering in purgatory, more often than not it was deemed that sufferers deserved their pain. As such the sick were segregated not only to avoid physical contagion but also spiritual contagion arising from their sins.[61] Bell also argues that the siting of monastic infirmaries on the east stemmed from Hippocratic associations between health and topography. According to Hippocrates, the population of towns located in the east were subject to fewer diseases than those in towns situated in the north, south, and west.[62] Rules governed the correct use of the infirmary space as much as any other location within the monastery, and the ecclesiastical visitors to Norman houses were anxious to apply them.

It is interesting to note that most of our evidence regarding the use of the monastic infirmary comes from female houses. The injunctions in Eudes's register as regards the male houses are confined to vague exhortations to ensure that the sick in the infirmary were sufficiently provided for. For example, at Cherbourg the Archbishop instructed that the sick were to 'be well and decently attended' and were to be 'treated as their illness demands and the resources of the monastery permit'.[63] Abbot Stephen was also anxious to ensure that the infirmary was properly provided for and that the monks maintained some degree of order within it.[64] These examples suggest

[58] D. N. Bell, 'The Siting and Size of Cistercian Infirmaries in England and Wales', in *Studies in Cistercian Art and Architecture*, vol. v, ed. by M. P. Lillich, Cistercian Studies, 167 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1998), pp. 211–12.

[59] Hicks, 'Women and the Use of Space in Normandy', p. 97, appendix C, nos 14 and 11. Montivilliers: dép. Seine-Maritime, arr. Le Havre, cant. chef-lieu, was a Benedictine abbey refounded by Robert, duke of Normandy, in 1035. Fontaine-Guerard (Radepont): dép. Eure, arr. Les Andelys, cant. Fleury-sur-Andelle was a Cistercian house founded between 1184 and 1190 by Robert, earl of Leicester.

[60] Bell, 'The Siting and Size', p. 219.

[61] Bell, 'The Siting and Size', p. 220.

[62] Bell, 'The Siting and Size', p. 220.

[63] Eudes Rigaud, *Regestrum visitationum*, p. 90, and *Register*, p. 103. Cherbourg: dép. Manche, an Augustinian abbey founded after 1145; Arnoux, 'Les Origines et le développement du mouvement canonial en Normandie', p. 21.

[64] For example, the visitations to Beaubec (Stephen of Lexinton, *Registrum epistolarum*, p. 195) and St-André-en-Gouffern (Stephen of Lexinton, *Registrum epistolarum*, p. 208). Similar complaints can be found in his visits to Irish monasteries in Stephen of Lexington, *Letters*

that there were some differences based on gender in the use of the infirmary by monks and nuns in Normandy at this time.

Monastics could retreat to the infirmary if they were unable to fulfil their roles within the community. Normal rules, for example regarding diet, as those in the infirmary were allowed to eat meat, did not apply here.[65] It was this fact that led to many of the problems in observance within the Norman female houses. At Mortain, Stephen found it necessary to state that 'no nun was to be assigned a small chamber but she should lodge honestly in the infirmary or infirmary chamber when illness requires or manifest weakness will have demanded'.[66] In addition, nuns were not to eat together but singly and next to their own bed. The prioress could, however, have four companions at her table and the subprioress two.[67] From this it is apparent that Stephen clearly thought it was impossible to live a full communal life in the infirmary. Nuns were there precisely because illness or old age meant that they were prevented from living the full monastic, common life. Some allowances had to be made, therefore, to the full rigour of the monastic Rule like the provision that the prioress and subprioress could have companions at their table.

The practices followed in the houses visited by Eudes were slightly different. Here the main problem was the use of the infirmary as a soft option: healthy nuns went to the infirmary for meals as this was the only place in the monastery where meat was served, hence the provision for a separate kitchen in Lanfranc's *Constitutions*. For example, at St-Amand Eudes recorded that the nuns ate meat freely in the infirmary and that the healthy sometimes ate with the sick, 'two or three with one sick sister'.[68] At Montivilliers, the sick and those who waited on them ate in scattered groups rather than the healthy together in one group and the sick in another.[69] At St-Sauveur, Eudes ordered that the nuns who were not confined to bed should all eat at one table, whilst at St-Amand he complained that no one read the divine office to the infirmary occupants.[70] For Eudes illness did not prevent the monastics in his care living as much of a common life as they could manage. Whereas for Stephen, the infirmary was a cross between a hospital and an old people's home, presumably

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from Ireland 1228–1229, trans. by Barry W. O'Dwyer, Cistercian Fathers Series, 28 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1982), pp. 164–65.

[65] *Rule of Benedict*, ch. 36, p. 193.

[66] Stephen of Lexinton, *Registrum epistolarum*, p. 235.

[67] Stephen of Lexinton, *Registrum epistolarum*, p. 239.

[68] Eudes Rigaud, *Regestrum visitationum*, pp. 15–16, and *Register*, p. 19. St-Amand, Rouen: dép. Seine-Maritime (chef-lieu), a Benedictine abbey founded in *c*. 1030 by Goscelin, viscount of Arques, and Emmelina.

[69] Eudes Rigaud, *Regestrum visitationum*, pp. 518, 564, and *Register*, pp. 591, 647.

[70] Eudes Rigaud, *Regestrum visitationum*, pp. 220, 285, and *Register*, pp. 241, 322. St-Sauveur, Évreux: dép. Eure (chef-lieu), a Benedictine abbey founded by Richard, count of Évreux, in *c*. 1060.

visited by the chaplain who would say Mass and hear confession, Eudes regarded it as a community in miniature where the rigours of the Rule were mitigated but the principle of the common life remained.

In their use of the infirmary, the Norman nuns' experience of monasticism differed greatly from their male counterparts. Although both monks and nuns were negligent in their observance of monastic fasts, the manner in which the faults were made manifest was different. Whereas the nuns ate meat in the infirmary or had individual dishes prepared for them, monks resident in the dependent priories of St-Etienne in Caen and St-Pierre-des-Préaux and St-Ouen in Rouen did not fast and regularly ate meat.[71] It seems then, that the priories fulfilled a similar role in male houses to the infirmary in female communities. Both places provided loopholes in the rules as they were areas that could be used as recreational spaces where religious could be sent for refreshment. The idea that priories could act as rest houses for the monks is supported by the presence of hunting dogs at priories dependent on St-Etienne.[72] The nunneries had fewer outside houses, and perhaps with the restrictions on leaving the cloister, it would have been impractical for the nuns to be sent out to them. As a result, they adapted internal spaces within their abbeys for refreshment.

Conclusion

In this essay, I have attempted to show how exile, made manifest in sentences of excommunication entailing exclusion from a monastic community or parish, was both a means of coercion and a punishment. From the Church's point of view, such draconian measures were designed to bring the full weight of the sin committed down upon the sinner. No doubt for some people excommunication brought very real hardship, spiritually, physically, mentally, and financially. For others, especially those who had perhaps been forced into monastic vows, it may have come as a release.

Excommunication as a punishment contrasts with exile from the community as a result of illness. Provisions were made for these temporarily exiled monastics to hear some church services and to receive confession and communion. Although unable to undertake a full part in community life, and in contrast to apostates and renegade monastics, aged or infirm religious were still provided with a place within the monastic community, albeit slightly removed.

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[71] Eudes Rigaud, *Regestrum visitationum*, pp. 94, 198, 57, and *Register*, pp. 109, 212, 63. These houses were all Benedictine. St-Etienne, Caen: dép. Calvados (chef-lieu), founded *c*. 1064 by William, duke of Normandy. St-Pierre-des-Préaux: dép. Eure, arr. Évreux, cant. Pont-Audemer, founded by Humphrey of Vieilles in *c*. 1035. St-Ouen, Rouen: dép. Seine-Maritime (chef-lieu), originally founded in Merovingian times and restored in the eleventh century.

[72] Eudes Rigaud, *Regestrum visitationum*, p. 262, and *Register*, p. 293.

Exile in the *Lives* of Anselm and Thomas Becket

MICHAEL STAUNTON

Anselm and Thomas Becket each spent six years of their term as Archbishop of Canterbury away from their see. In both cases exile was a political act, born out of conflict with the royal power. In both cases it was controversial, provoking criticism from churchmen in England who regarded their actions as a cowardly and damaging dereliction of duty. Exile helped to define the archiepiscopate and reputation of each man, and it features prominently in the two biographical works which Eadmer wrote about Anselm, the *Vita Anselmi* and *Historia Novorum*, and in many of the numerous *Lives* of Thomas. The treatment of the theme, reflecting contemporary theory on episcopal flight, tells us much about the discussion of exile in the twelfth century. There are many parallels in the treatment of Anselm's exile and that of Thomas, as one would expect from the similarity of the subject matter, but the two experiences of exile and the context in which they were posthumously viewed were also different in important ways, and this is reflected in the writings of Eadmer and Thomas's biographers, as the following examples show.

Anselm went into exile twice, first between 1097 and 1100 when relations with King William Rufus had deteriorated, and again between 1103 and 1106 when he clashed with King Henry I over lay investitures.[1] Introducing the first exile in the *Vita Anselmi*, Eadmer relates how in May 1097 Anselm visited the King at his court at Windsor where his request for permission to visit Rome was refused, and as he left the King's court he saw the boys of his household pursuing a hare with their dogs. The hare ran to the feet of the Archbishop's horse where he sheltered it, 'knowing that the wretched animal looked to find a place of refuge beneath him, and not wishing to deny it the help it needed'. Anselm, seeing its pursuers making merry at the hare's expense, burst into tears and said, 'You laugh, do you? But there is no laughing, no merry-making for this unhappy beast. His enemies stand round him,

[1] For Anselm's itinerary, see R. W. Southern, *St Anselm, a Portrait in a Landscape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. xxviii–xxix.

and in fear of his life he flees to us asking for help.' Eventually the Archbishop allowed the hare to flee, and the monks 'not a little uplifted by so affecting a deliverance for the frightened animal, followed the father along our appointed way'. Next Eadmer describes how on another occasion Anselm saw a boy playing with a bird, its foot tied to a string. When the bird was allowed a little freedom, 'it tried to fly away, hoping to succour itself by flight', but the boy cruelly pulled it back and brought it down beside him. Anselm, watching this, 'was sorry for the wretched bird, and hoped that it would break the string and regain its freedom', and soon the bird succeeded in breaking free, to the delight of the Archbishop. Eadmer then returns to Anselm's repeated attempts to secure the King's permission to leave the realm and how, 'when permission to go to Rome had thrice been refused, he took it upon himself to go'.[2]

Thomas fled to France in November 1164, after his trial at Northampton before King Henry II had collapsed in chaos, and did not return to England for six years, until a month before his death.[3] William of Canterbury, like Eadmer a monk of Christ Church Canterbury, also uses the image of a fugitive animal to introduce the exile. As he describes Thomas's escape from Northampton, William inserts a vision 'which a certain deacon saw':

> The king of England was hunting in Wabridge forest with all his archbishops, bishops, barons, nobles, priors and abbots, when a hedgehog sprang out in front of them, roused by the clamour of the hunters. When they saw it they all began to chase it, harrying it with shouts and mockery. But the hedgehog outran the throng and hastened to the sea, not in a straight line but through a more winding path, carrying on his back the book entitled *The Acts of the Apostles*. None of those who followed was without a bodily flaw, but seemed either blind, one-eyed or lame, or to have mutilated lips or nose. And when eventually the hedgehog came to the sea, it plunged in and did not emerge again. Seeing this, those who had been in pursuit turned back. And behold a thick dark cloud arose and covered the face of the earth, and a shower of blood fell. The king then turned aside to the royal hall set up in that place, and he sat in it, after he had put on a long white robe of linen, and placed around his head wolves' tails as a garland. But the blood did not cease from spilling down upon him, because the house, being in a deserted place, did not have a waterproof roof, and through the wolves' tails hanging down it flowed into his garment. And when it had filled his garment and its winding folds, it began to flow out, and as it overflowed it filled even his mouth.[4]

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[2] *VA*, pp. 89–91. Eadmer's method is discussed in M. Staunton, 'Eadmer's *Vita Anselmi*: A Reinterpretation', *JMH*, 23 (1997), 1–14, and 'Exile in Eadmer's *Historia Novorum* and *Vita Anselmi*', in *Saint Anselm: Bishop and Thinker*, ed. by R. Majeran and E. I. Zielinski (Lublin: Catholic University of Lublin Press, 1999), pp. 47–59.

[3] For Thomas's itinerary, see J. van der Straeten, 'Les Vies latines de S. Thomas Becket et son exil en France', in *Thomas Becket: Actes du colloque international de Sédières, 1973*, ed. by R. Foreville (Paris: Beauchesne, 1975), pp. 27–32, and the discussion which follows, pp. 33–39.

[4] *MTB*, I, 41–42.

Obviously, these are both allegories of justified flight from persecution. William's is more explicit in its connection to Thomas's experience: the hedgehog's harassment, by the king, the senior ecclesiastics, and nobles, reflects Thomas's treatment at the Council of Northampton, and his path to the sea mirrors Thomas's roundabout progress to the coast of Kent which passed through Wabridge Forest. But there is an additional significance to William's image. The author of the Icelandic *Thomas Saga* provides a lengthy explanation of the vision in which he interprets the hedgehog as reflecting Thomas's defence against assailants and his harsh manner of life, but the hedgehog is also a symbol of martyrdom. Saint Sebastian is described in his death as being 'filled with arrows so that he bristled like a hedgehog', an image also applied by Abbo of Fleury to the martyrdom of King Edmund the Martyr.[5] It also recalls the apocalyptic scene from Isaiah 34 in which the skies roll up like a scroll, the land is soaked in blood, princes are brought low, and the hedgehog and other wild creatures inherit the earth.[6] The conclusion of the vision, in which blood fills the king's mouth, is surely a reference to the King's rash words which prompted Thomas's murder. All in all, the import of this vision is that Thomas's death is present in his exile.

Here is the crucial difference between the treatment of Anselm's exile and that of Thomas: Anselm died a peaceful death and did not produce any significant posthumous cult; Thomas's martyrdom prompted his acclaim, not only as a saint, but as the greatest saint of his age. When Eadmer wrote, the value of Anselm's exile, and indeed his exertions on the Church's behalf in general, were not widely recognized. William of Canterbury and Thomas's other biographers, on the other hand, were able to approach the exile through the prism of Thomas's death and posthumous acclaim, and thereby identify it as a justifiable escape from physical persecution, a fruitful and brave endeavour on behalf of the Church, and a journey towards martyrdom.

Before examining the differences in approach, let us look at some parallels. Many of Thomas's biographers had evidently read Eadmer's works, and there are strong similarities in certain areas, for example in the depiction of public confrontations involving each archbishop.[7] Just as important is the fact that they had a literary tradition in common. Examples of virtuous exile featured in English hagiography, for example in the *Lives* of Wilfrid and Dunstan, where those saints are presented as

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[5] *Thómas saga erkibyskups*, ed. by E. Magnússon, 2 vols, RS, 65, I, 233–39. Ambrose, *Acta S. Sebastiani martyris*, PL, 23, col. 85, PL, 17, col. 1056; see Bede, *Martyrologium*, 2 January, PL, 94, col. 817. Abbo of Fleury, *Vita S. Eadmundi Regis Anglorum et Martyris*, PL, 139, col. 514. I am grateful to Lisa Colton, Department of Music, University of York, for informing me about this tradition.

[6] Isaiah 34. 11, 15. Note the similarity between William's introduction of the vision and the introduction of other visions in Isaiah, e.g. 1. 1, 13. 1. See other biblical references to hedgehogs in Isaiah 14. 23, Psalm 103. 18, Zepheniah 2. 14.

[7] See M. Staunton, 'Trial and Inspiration in the Lives of Anselm and Thomas Becket', in *Anselm: Aosta, Bec and Canterbury*, ed. by D. Luscombe and G. R. Evans (Sheffield: Sheffield University Press, 1996), pp. 309–21.

recipients of divine protection on their travels and are seen to provoke a remarkable reaction from those they meet, thereby suggesting the blessing of God and man for their venture.[8] Eadmer likewise describes how Anselm, sailing from England in 1097, calls divine judgement on his journey, and the wind immediately changes in his favour. On arrival in Flanders his companions discover a large hole in the boat's hull, which had miraculously let in no water.[9] On the journey to Rome God saves the exiles from robbery, and on their return to Lyon they escape numerous dangers in a similar way.[10] Divine protection is again cited for his second trip to Rome in 1103, and for his return.[11] Before the Council of Northampton Thomas had attempted to flee England but was turned back by adverse winds, leading his biographers to conclude that God himself had deemed that the time for flight was not yet right.[12] After the Council of Northampton no such problems faced him. His passage from the town is reported by 'Roger of Pontigny' as being aided by heavy rain and the absence of a guard on the north gate, so that 'even the time and hour of the blessed man's flight seemed to be aided by divine support'.[13] Herbert of Bosham notes that Thomas crossed the Channel at the same time as royal envoys embarked for France, but whereas the latter were beset by a storm, the Archbishop and his companions found a peaceful sea, a miracle which he compares to the seventh and ninth plagues of Egypt, when the people of Israel were spared the thunder and lightning, and later the veil of darkness, which fell upon the land.[14] And Alan of Tewkesbury describes how at a later stage of their journey Thomas and his companions crossed a lake and were fed with a large bream which miraculously jumped into the Archbishop's lap.[15]

Both Anselm and Thomas receive hospitality from great men, lay and ecclesiastic, but the more lowly also express their enthusiasm for the exiles. Anselm is hailed by nobles, bishops, and even the pope, but is also acclaimed by clergy, monks, and crowds of ordinary people. Eadmer attributes this response in part to the justice of his cause, but also suggests that personal charisma was responsible: the Duke of Burgundy intends taking money from Anselm but ends up asking for his blessing;[16]

[8] For divine protection for Wilfrid, see *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus*, ed. and trans. by B. Colgrave (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1937), pp. 14–15, 26–29, 56–57, 66–67, 70–71; for human approval, see pp. 8–9, 54–55. For divine protection and human approval for Dunstan, see *Memorials of St Dunstan*, ed. by W. Stubbs, RS, 63, p. 59. Eadmer wrote *Lives* of both saints.

[9] *VA*, pp. 99–100, 116; *HN*, p. 88.

[10] *HN*, p. 89; *VA*, p. 116.

[11] *HN*, pp. 151–52, 183.

[12] *MTB*, I, 29; II, 390; III, 293.

[13] *MTB*, IV, 54.

[14] *MTB*, III, 330–31; see Exodus 9. 22–26, 10. 21–23.

[15] *MTB*, II, 336.

[16] *HN*, pp. 89–90.

some citizens of Rome try to capture him, but when they see his face they prostrate themselves before him.[17] 'Though we were few and unknown,' he writes, 'journeying in a foreign land, knowing no one, and telling no one who we were or whence we came, nevertheless the mere appearance of Anselm stirred people's admiration for him and they pointed him out as a man of God.'[18] There are numerous examples of Thomas being given hospitality by lay and clerical supporters, but it also happens that he is recognized by those he encounters on the way as someone special. For example, a certain woman is struck by the appearance of the exiles and Thomas in particular as they pass through her village. 'Considering the venerable man more closely, and discerning something special in his countenance', she rushes to her house and brings him back a staff to aid his journey.[19] On another occasion Thomas is recognized by an innkeeper on his journey, and 'seeing then that this man was quite different from the others in his way of eating and in the nature and posture of his body, he quickly judged that he had taken in some great man, and certainly suspected that this was the archbishop of Canterbury'.[20]

These incidents may reflect a shared hagiographical tradition, but that was not the only context in which these *Lives* were written. The discussion of exile in the *Lives* of Anselm and Thomas cannot be understood without a consideration of contemporary criticism, and the twelfth-century attitudes towards episcopal flight which underpinned those criticisms.

Anselm's second exile, in particular, drew fierce rebukes from his monks and fellow bishops. Although these letters were excluded from Anselm's posthumous collection of correspondence, Eadmer included them in his *Historia* so as to show 'what evils sprang up everywhere throughout England from the long continued exile of Anselm's and to what sort of deliberate intention on his part that exile was attributed by many, who in their anxiety for his return gave too little consideration to the true circumstances of the case'.[21] Particularly pungent is a letter of 1106, thought to be from the Prior of Canterbury, Ernulf. Lamenting the Archbishop's lengthy absence, he asserts that Anselm would have done better to share their present danger. Instead, he writes, 'of your own accord, with no one at all forcing you, you were torn away from our dangers, perhaps so as not to experience what we are forced to suffer, and what is worse, forced to witness'. He goes on to outline the various evils afflicting the church and people in Anselm's absence, and then demands,

> Do you think by fleeing you can turn away the contumacy of God's enemies, who do not believe in God, nor give any place to truth unless they have to? By what reasoning,

[17] *VA*, p. 115.

[18] *VA*, p. 104.

[19] *MTB,* IV, 56–57.

[20] *MTB*, III, 326–28.

[21] See W. Fröhlich, 'The Letters Removed from Anselm's Letter Collection', *ANS*, 6 (1983), 58–71 (p. 70). *HN*, pp. 159–60.

> father, could you come to such a conclusion? He who takes command of a ship must be all the more vigilant the more he fears the storms. But perhaps when you see the choirs of souls being led before Christ's tribunal, the bravest rams of the flock whom no wolf could turn, nor fear of anyone turn to flight, perhaps then you will feel ashamed to have fled merely at the wish of the envious.[22]

The fullest contemporary critique of Thomas's exile appears in the famous letter of 1166 from Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London, to Thomas, *Multiplicem nobis*. It has been argued that this letter is in the main an attack on Thomas the chancellor; it is equally an attack on Thomas the exile.[23] Having reviewed the circumstances of Thomas's appointment and the progress of the conflict in England, Gilbert turns to the exile:

> As if an ambush were being contrived against your life or your blood, you took to flight by night, changed your dress and lay low for a while, before crossing the sea. With no one pursuing and no one expelling you, you chose a dwelling-place for a time in another place outside the king's dominions. From there you arranged to steer the ship which you had left without an oarsman amidst the waves and the storms.[24]

Gilbert is responding to a recent accusation by Thomas that the English bishops had 'turned back in the day of battle', rather than laying down their lives to liberate the Church.[25] He turns the accusation back on the Archbishop, demanding,

> with what effrontery, father, do you invite us to death, which you have shown to the whole world with such manifest signs to have shrunk from and fled? What charity persuades you to impose the burden on us which you have thrown away? The sword which you fled hangs over us. You have chosen to combat it with a sling, instead of fighting at close quarters. Perhaps you invite us to flee in the same way, but to us the sea is closed, and since your flight all ships and harbours have been shut off. An island is a king's strongest prison, from which it is almost impossible to escape or release oneself. If we must fight, we will fight hand-to-hand.[26]

Gilbert's argument is that Thomas had not only ignominiously fled the land and abandoned his flock, but had repeatedly fled from righteousness. At the Council of Clarendon in 1164, when the King demanded assent to laws detrimental to the Church, while the other bishops stood firm, 'the captain of the army himself turned tail; the leader of the camp fled'.[27] His flight at Northampton is of a piece with this betrayal:

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[22] *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi opera omnia*, ed. by F. S. Schmitt, 6 vols (Edinburgh: Nelson and Sons, 1946–61), *Ep.* 310, IV, 233–35; *HN*, pp. 160–62. See also nos 365, 366, 386, IV, 308–09, 309–10, 329–30.

[23] *CTB*, no. 109, pp. 499–539. See the discussion by A. Morey and C. N. L. Brooke, *Gilbert Foliot and his Letters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1965), pp. 166–87.

[24] *CTB*, no. 109, pp. 524–25.

[25] *CTB*, no. 95, pp. 390–91; see Psalm 77 (78). 9–10.

[26] *CTB*, no. 109, pp. 526–27.

[27] *CTB*, no. 109, pp. 510–11.

> You bent the knee at Clarendon, took to flight at Northampton, changed your dress and hid for a time, and secretly left the king's lands, and what did you achieve? What did you gain in doing this, except to evade studiously that death which no one had deigned to threaten?[28]

Such criticisms of Anselm and Thomas did not occur in isolation but echoed established rules on the subject, as acknowledged in Ernulf's letter to Anselm:

> If you had made an effort to consider with solicitous attention the rule of ecclesiastical administration and the precepts of ancient tradition, no reason would have snatched you away to exile, nor by the occasion of your absence would others incur such serious danger.[29]

Though Ernulf does not specify it, in the twelfth century one authority dominated the discussion of episcopal flight in canon law collections, theological works, and correspondence. The framework for the criticisms of exile made by both Ernulf and Gilbert Foliot and the justifications made by Eadmer and Thomas's biographers was provided by the response made by Augustine to the dilemma faced by an obscure fifth-century Mauritanian bishop.

Around the year 428 Bishop Honoratus of Thiaba wrote to Augustine, apprising him of the danger he was facing in his see and asking him what to do. Augustine sent a brief reply in which he reminded Honoratus of the responsibility of ministers not to forsake the churches in which it is their duty to serve. Dissatisfied with this answer, Honoratus wrote back, asking Augustine where this verdict left the Lord's instruction to the apostle from Matthew 10. 23, 'When they persecute you in one town, flee to another.' Augustine's response is the most detailed discussion of episcopal flight in patristic literature, and the most frequently cited authority in twelfth-century discussions of the subject. Large sections are included verbatim in the relevant canons of Deusdedit and Anselm of Lucca, and Gratian draws heavily upon it in his *Decretum*. It is also cited directly in the *Glossa Ordinaria* and in Peter Lombard's *Great Gloss on the Epistles*, and is echoed in correspondence on the subject by Bernard of Clairvaux, among others.[30]

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[28] *CTB*, no. 109, pp. 526–27.

[29] *Ep.* 310, *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi opera omnia*, IV, 234.

[30] Augustine, *Ep.* 228, CSEL, 57 (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1911), pp. 484–96. Neither of Honoratus's letters, nor Augustine's first reply, have survived. See the comments on this letter in *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, ed. by E. Friedberg, 2 vols (Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1879), I, 585–86. E. M. Peters makes more detailed comments in 'The Archbishop and the Hedgehog', in *Law, Church and Society: Essays in Honour of Stephan Kuttner*, ed. by K. Pennington and R. Somerville (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977), pp. 167–84 (pp. 177, 183 n. 27). He also notes the references to Paul, David, and others in the *Lives* but does not link them to Augustine's letter. J. O'Reilly, in 'The Double Martyrdom of Thomas Becket: Hagiography or History?', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, 7 (1985), 185–247, offers the only discussion I have seen of the Becket biographers' use of Matthew 10. 23 and

Augustine begins by acknowledging Christ's instruction to flee from city to city, but, he demands, 'Who can believe that the Lord wished this to be done with the result that the flocks which he established with his own blood are deprived of the ministry upon which their lives depend?' Later he adds,

> Far be it from us to value this ship of ours so little that we should think it right for the crew, and especially for the pilot, to abandon it in time of danger, even if it is possible to escape by jumping into a lighter or even by swimming ashore.

And he balances the requirements of Christ's instruction in Matthew 10. 23 to flee from city to city with His saying in John 10. 11–12: 'I am the good shepherd. The good shepherd lays down his life for the sheep. He who is a hireling and not a shepherd, whose own the sheep are not, sees the wolf coming and leaves the sheep and flees.' The minister who flees 'when the consequence of his flight is the withdrawal from Christ's flock of that nourishment by which its spiritual life is sustained', is, according to Augustine, nothing but a mercenary.[31]

Nevertheless, Augustine concedes that while in general ministers should not abandon their churches, 'some wise and holy men have been found worthy by God's gift to choose and carry out just that, and have by no means faltered in the prosecution of their purpose even in the face of disparagement'. While frequently reminding Honoratus of the pastor's duty to defend one's flock, Augustine's letter is in many ways a definition and an appreciation of legitimate flight in specific circumstances. The first occurs when no flock exists, as when Christ, carried by his parents, fled to Egypt to escape Herod. The second, more relevant to our case, occurs when the pastor himself, rather than the flock, is in physical danger, the flock is not deprived of ministry, and its well-being is benefited by the pastor's absence. Paul, let down in a basket through a window escaped from Damascus, leaving behind other pastors, 'in order to save for the Church's benefit his own person, which the persecutor was seeking'. David took a similar course of praiseworthy expedience when he acquiesced in the petition of his people to preserve himself from the dangers of battle lest the light of Israel be extinguished. With these exceptions to the general rule in mind, then, Augustine criticizes those who regard the two statements of the Lord, from Matthew 10. 23 and John 10. 10–11, as mutually exclusive:

John 10. 11–12. She also discusses their portrayal of exile as a pilgrimage (pp. 204–06, 209–10). Anselm of Lucca, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 269, fol. 24. *Die Kanonessammlung des Kardinals Deusdedit*, ed. by V. W. von Glanvell (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöning, 1905), IV, 215, pp. 515–18. Gratian, *Decretum*, C. 7, qu. I, cc. 46–49, *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, ed. by Friedberg, I, 585–88. Peter Lombard, *In Epistolas Pauli* at II Corinthians 19. 21, PL, 192, col. 78; *Biblia latina cum glossa ordinaria, Facsimile Reprint of the editio princeps, Adolph Russch of Strassbourg*, ed. by K. Froehlich and M. Gibson (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992), pp. 1480–81 (not in PL edition).

[31] Augustine, *Ep.* 228. 2, 11, 14, CSEL, 57, pp. 485, 493, 496.

> Why do they not try to understand these two true statements of the Lord, one where flight is permitted or ordered, the other where it is condemned or blamed, and see that they are not contradictory? And how can this be seen except by considering, as I have shown, that we ministers of Christ ought to flee under pressure of persecution when there is either no congregation to which we might minister, or the necessary ministry can be fulfilled by others who do not have the same reason to flee? The apostle, as I have mentioned was let down in a basket and escaped when his own person was being sought by the persecutor, and there were others there lacking the same necessity of flight who by no means deserted the Church's ministry. Athanasius bishop of Alexandria fled when Emperor Constantius wished to apprehend him specially, and the Catholic people who remained in Alexandria were in no way abandoned by other ministers.[32]

Augustine's views reflect the circumstances of the time when individual Christian communities often faced the danger of destruction, and the greatest necessity of the Church was that the pastor should remain with his people and withstand persecution and physical threat, even to death. He acknowledged that in certain circumstances the flight of the pastor was the legitimate response to the situation, but the conditions he laid down were restrictive ones. If these conditions were difficult to meet in the fifth century, they were all the more rare in the twelfth century, when the physical persecution of a senior ecclesiastic was more unusual. A hardening of attitudes during this period against exile in favour of stability is also evident in discussions of monastic duty.[33] Nevertheless, situations did arise in which Augustine's argument and imagery were applied in defence of exile. In 1131, Bernard of Clairvaux claimed that Pope Urban II had recently fled from Rome following the Lord's mandate to flee from city to city. Urban had proved himself an apostle by following the example of Paul in his escape from Damascus; he fled not to evade death but to achieve life; his exile was a fruitful one for himself and his people.[34] About nine years later a

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[32] Augustine, *Ep*. 282. 14, 2, 10, 6, CSEL, 57, pp. 496, 485, 492, 488–89. For Paul's flight, see II Corinthians 11. 33; Acts 9. 25. For David, see II Kings 21. 17. Athanasius himself wrote an *Apologia de Fuga* in the year 357: *The Historical Works of St Athanasius According to the Benedictine Text with an Introduction by William Bright* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1881), pp. 158–77. A response to charges of cowardice, its arguments share much with Augustine's. He claims that many holy men have legitimately fled from persecution when the time was appropriate, citing the examples of Jacob, Moses, Saul, Elijah, Paul, and Jesus, and the instruction to flee from city to city. Much of this work is incorporated into the *Historia Tripartita* at 6. 22, PL, 69, cols 1043–45. See A. Petterson, '"To Flee or not to Flee": An Assessment of Athanasius's *De Fuga Sua*', in *Persecution and Toleration*, Studies in Church History, 21 (London: Blackwell, 1984), pp. 29–42.

[33] See J. Leclerq, 'Monachism et péregrination du IX^e^ au XII^e^ siècle', *Studia Monastica*, 3 (1961), 33–52 (p. 51); G. Constable, 'Opposition to Pilgrimage in the Middle Ages', *Studia Gratiana*, 19 (1967), 125–46, repr. *Religious Life and Thought (11th–12th Centuries)* (London: Variorum, 1979).

[34] *Sancti Bernardi Opera Omnia*, ed. by J. Leclercq, C. H. Talbot, and H. M. Rochais, 8 vols (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1957–77), *Ep*. 124, VII (1974), 305.

canon of Hereford found himself forced to leave his diocese in the face of an attack on the city by supporters of the Empress Matilda and received a letter of condolence:

> Happy your leaving, by which you are designated to the college of saints. But they lingered who fled. Indeed you did not flee, but preserved yourself for fighting more fiercely for justice. Paul fled from Damascus, let down in a basket. When he wrote about it he was not filled with blushes, rather he was gloried by it. For had he not fled, he would not have confounded the roaring beasts, nor would he have placed the Lord's standard on the summit of the empire. The Good Master teaches us, 'If you are persecuted in one town, flee into another.'

The letter was written by the then Bishop of Hereford, Gilbert Foliot.[35]

The first condition which a fugitive prelate needed to satisfy, according to Augustine, is that exile is a response to personal persecution, and that the situation justifies his absence. This is neatly summed up by Ernulf in his letter to Anselm:

> Even if they imprisoned you, ill-treated you, tore you to pieces, you would not have been justified in so withdrawing. How much more so when you have not had to bear any such treatment nor has your bishopric been refused you.[36]

In other words: where was the physical persecution, and if such persecution existed, where was the justification for avoiding it? As we have seen, Eadmer characterized Anselm's first exile as a flight from persecution through the allegories of the fugitive hare and bird. Elsewhere, he suggests that the Archbishop was forced to leave because he was being 'quite unjustly harassed' and has Pope Paschal refer to Anselm's persecution for righteousness's sake.[37] However, he presents no evidence of any physical threat, and instead suggests that William Rufus's prevention of Anselm fulfilling his obligations to the Pope and to God amounted to persecution. In common with his entire defence of Anselm's disparate conflicts with the royal power, Eadmer presents both exiles as a matter of obedience to God over man, but he is unable to offer an answer to Ernulf.

Augustine's categories of justified flight do not immediately seem to offer much in defence of Thomas's actions either. There is little evidence that Thomas faced physical danger in late 1164, and his actions over the following years appeared less than fruitful to contemporaries. As E. M. Peters puts it, in a discussion of Augustine's two cases of justified flight, 'the first reason [when there is no flock to desert], of course, would not apply in Becket's case, and much of the thrust of *Multiplicem* undermines Becket's arguments for the second [flight from personal persecution], had Becket explicitly referred to Augustine's letter, which he does not appear to

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[35] *The Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot*, ed. A. Morey and C. N. L. Brooke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), no. 1, pp. 33–35.

[36] *Ep.* 310, *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi opera omnia*, IV, 234; *HN*, p. 161.

[37] *HN*, pp. 98, 105–06.

have done'.[38] It is true that Thomas does not refer to Augustine's letter in his surviving correspondence, but John of Salisbury used its arguments as early as 1167. After Thomas's death, Augustine's letter was mined extensively by the Lambeth Anonymous, William of Canterbury, and Herbert of Bosham, and strong echoes are evident in the work of Alan of Tewkesbury.

In the immediate aftermath of his flight, Becket's critics poured scorn on the suggestion that he had left England to escape danger. A royal mission to King Louis VII of France claimed that Thomas had fled without reason, in violation of English law, and a month later, according to Alan of Tewkesbury, Gilbert Foliot accused Thomas before the Pope of taking to flight 'with no one using force or even making threats, as is written, "The wicked man flees when no one is pursuing"', a charge echoed in *Multiplicem nobis*.[39] We do not have any independent evidence that Thomas would have faced a threat of incarceration or violence had he stayed in England. It was not difficult, however, for the biographers, presenting the trial at Northampton as a prefiguring of Becket's Passion, to argue such a case. In William of Canterbury's account, King Louis tells the mission from the English king that Thomas had fled, not because he had incurred blame, but because he feared violence.[40] All of the biographers report a threatening atmosphere as the Council of Northampton drew to a close. William Fitzstephen describes how some of the King's barons spoke, deliberately within earshot of the Archbishop, of the violent retribution the King's ancestors had taken on recalcitrant ecclesiastics.[41] According to Edward Grim, the Archbishop had it on good authority that he would be imprisoned unless he went into hiding immediately.[42] 'Roger of Pontigny' reports similar worries and even a murder plot.[43] Some of the biographers express this flight from danger in a figurative way, as Eadmer did. In addition to William of Canterbury's fugitive hedgehog, Herbert of Bosham describes how, at supper on the evening after the close of the Council of Northampton, the reading was from the *Historia Tripartita* about the persecution of Bishop Liberius, and when they came to the line, 'If you are persecuted in one town flee to the next', Herbert caught Thomas's eye. As Thomas made his way from the monastery in the dead of night, one of his household, asleep and unaware of the flight, clearly heard in his dream a voice chanting the lines from the Psalm, 'Safe, like a bird rescued from the fowler's snare; the snare is broken and we are safe.'[44]

[38] Peters, 'The Archbishop and the Hedgehog', p. 183 n. 7.

[39] *MTB*, no. 71, V, 134; *MTB*, II, 338; see Proverbs 28. 1; *CTB*, no. 109, pp. 510–11.

[40] *MTB*, I, 44.

[41] *MTB*, III, 64–65.

[42] *MTB*, II, 399.

[43] *MTB*, IV, 53.

[44] *MTB*, III, 312–13; Psalm 123 (124). 7. The text is not in fact quoted by Liberius, but by the Arian Bishop Demophilus, on being turned out of Constantinople by Theodosius: *Historia Tripartita*, 9. 10, PL, 69, cols 1127–28. For the theme of flight in the *Historia Tripartita*, see note 32 above.

But it was not enough for the biographers to point to physical danger — such an unqualified assertion left Becket open to the charge of cowardice and dereliction of duty. According to Augustine, flight is only permissible when the persecution is specific rather than general (*commune*); that is, when the pastor himself is specially (*specialiter*, *proprie*) sought, and the flock has no necessity of flight. Otherwise the sufferings ought to be borne equally. Therefore, writes Augustine, ministers

> may by all means flee from city to city, when any of them is specially (*specialiter*) sought by persecutors, in such a way that the church is not deserted, but that others who are not sought in the same way may provide nourishment to their fellow-servants, whom they know cannot survive otherwise.[45]

Becket's supporters are at pains to distinguish personally-directed persecution from that which applies to all, and they do so with quite specific language. This is even apparent before Thomas's death in a letter of 1167 from John of Salisbury to Peter the Scribe, a member of the Canterbury circle. Responding to contemporary criticism, John writes, 'perhaps you will say, "If such was his resolve why did [Thomas] flee? Why did he expose the church to so many fearful dangers when he knew in advance that priests must lay down their lives for it?"' He answers that

> As authority for his flight he has Christ and His apostle, who escaped from the hands of his persecutors by being let down in a basket, for he knew that one should flee from one city to another to escape the man who persecutes one's person, not one's cause.[46]

The posthumous *Lives* make the same point. Alan of Tewkesbury writes that in the aftermath of the Council of Clarendon in January 1164 it was well known that 'the blood and life of the archbishop himself were being sought'. He goes on to report a debate between various bishops at the Council of Northampton days before Thomas's flight in which they discussed the imminent danger to the Archbishop. 'It is clear', says Robert of Lincoln, 'that the life and blood of the man himself is being sought, and it will be necessary for the archbishop to give up either his archiepiscopate or his life', and Bartholomew of Exeter concurs that 'the persecution is not general but personal'.[47] Herbert of Bosham claims that 'there is no need to apologize for the flight of a shepherd, not a hireling, who was personally sought'.[48]

But the influence of Augustine's letter to Honoratus is clearest in the passages which introduce the theme of exile in the *Lives* of the Lambeth Anonymous and William of Canterbury, writers who elsewhere in their *Lives* show a broad knowledge of canon law:

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[45] Augustine, *Ep.* 228. 2, 10, CSEL, 57, pp. 485, 492.

[46] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, II, no. 225, pp. 390–93.

[47] *MTB*, II, 325, 327–28.

[48] *MTB*, III, 319.

> Wisely [Thomas] realized that he should give way before malice and give place to the madness, as Jacob did towards his brother Esau, and David towards the most unyielding of enemies Saul. So also did Athanasius bishop of Alexandria who fled from all the lands under the rule of his persecutor Constantius so that he might be preserved to oppose the Arians for the sake of the catholic faith. So did the apostle Paul who was let down through a window in a basket so as to avoid the force of the Damascenes, and remain alive for the expansion of the Church. Finally, so too did Christ himself, first when he was carried away by his parents from the traps of Herod and hid in Egypt, and then when he hid himself from the Jews and left the temple when they wanted to stone him. Strengthened then by these great examples, he followed the instruction of Christ to his apostles, 'When you are persecuted in one city, flee into another.' He did not earn the mark of the hireling, who sees the wolf coming and flees, because he does not care for the sheep. For he did not desert in time of danger the flock committed to him, but rather prudently removed himself from the danger which was specifically prepared for his head alone.[49]

> At the appropriate time [Thomas] escaped the premeditated crime and the exertions of evil counsels, deciding to cross to a safer place, just as the Lord promised and did, Who chose to flee so that authority for flight, when reason demands it, be given. Our patriarch Jacob fled from the presence of his brother Esau, and this on his mother's advice, so that later by God's arrangement he would return home with blessed and excellent fruit. Paul fled so that he would be preserved for other things for which he was necessary. The most brave David fled the perils of battle lest the light of Israel be extinguished, but he acquiesced in the request of his people, he did not propose it himself. Thomas fled to protect the Church's liberty from danger. He fled so that he could die more proven and perfect. He fled, not as a mercenary, who sees the wolf coming and flees, since those who could supply ecclesiastical ministry were not lacking, but in order to tend from afar the sheep whom he was unable to tend under the jaws of the wolf. He fled from the battle but did not flee the battle.[50]

The second main theme addressed in Augustine's letter is the value of exile. The reason why Augustine argues that personal persecution may legitimately be evaded by the pastor is that such an action may be an expedient and fruitful action on behalf of the flock. Paul preserved his life for the Church's good, and 'the whole Catholic faith knows how necessary it was [that Athanasius should flee], and how much benefit it brought that this man remained alive to defend it from the Arian heretics by his word and his loving care'.[51] In these cases the death of the pastor would have diminished the fortunes of the Church. Indeed, one ought not to tempt the Lord by assuming that He will intervene miraculously to save oneself from danger. The discussion of the value of exile is not limited however, to an objective assessment of success and failure. It is inevitably bound up with a view of the exile himself as a

[49] *MTB*, IV, 106.

[50] *MTB*, I, 40–41.

[51] Augustine, *Ep.* 228. 10, CSEL, 57, p. 492.

true shepherd or a mercenary. Both Anselm and Thomas's exiles are characterized as virtuous and fruitful journeys which reflected upon the sanctity of the two men. In both cases exile is described as a pilgrimage during the course of which the cause of the Church was advanced, and the pilgrim experienced inner growth.[52] The contrast lies in the fact that Thomas's pilgrimage had a very different destination to Anselm's.

Eadmer describes how, as Anselm was about to leave England for the first time, he addressed the monks of Canterbury, warning them of tribulations ahead and expressing his concern for them, but defending his own record: 'for though these [tribulations] have never been wholly absent even when I was present, still, when they arose, I was able to be some sort of shelter for you against them, and I placed myself as a shield for your protection so that they did not hurt you beyond measure'. He goes on to deliver an address to them on the subject of 'God's mercenary soldiers', drawing an implicit contrast with his own conduct. When trials befall such mercenaries, he says, they rush away from the love of God, abandoning good works. He who is not a mercenary is he who 'through difficulties and adversities follows the way of [God's] commandments'. 'For my own part,' he says, 'I go willingly, trusting that by the workings of God's mercy my journey will be of some use to the liberty of the church in time to come.' Then he went to the cathedral and, in the presence of the monks, clerks, and crowds of people, took his scrip and staff from the altar, 'like a pilgrim'.[53] Here and throughout the *Vita* and *Historia* Eadmer promotes the notion of Anselm's exile as a pilgrimage, and as a fruitful defence of the flock, rather than a mercenary's flight from duty.

When Anselm and his companions arrived in France, they were identified and spoken to by others as pilgrims, and they travelled as equals, as Eadmer puts it, 'just as on a pilgrimage'.[54] This sense of pilgrimage is evident not only in their journeys but in the places where they stayed. When he came to Italy he stayed at Liberi where he lived on a mountain top 'as far removed from the thronging crowd as it were in the desert'. He ordered his life on the lines of his earlier routine before he became abbot, investigating the divine mysteries. There he wrote his theological work, *Cur Deus Homo*, but nevertheless, 'at the same time he made himself all things to all men, helping everyone to the extent of his power'.[55]

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[52] See O'Reilly, 'Double Martyrdom', p. 202. The idea of exile as pilgrimage is particularly strong in Irish tradition. See C. Stancliffe, 'Red, White and Blue Martyrdom', in *Ireland in Early Mediaeval Europe: Studies in Memory of Kathleen Hughes*, ed. by D. Whitelock, R. McKitterick, and D. Dumville (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 21–46, and M. Richter, *Ireland and her Neighbours in the Seventh Century* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999), pp. 41–47.

[53] *VA*, pp. 93–97; cf. *HN*, pp. 87–88.

[54] *HN*, p. 95; *VA*, p. 103.

[55] *VA*, p. 107; see I Corinthians 9. 22. Compare the description of his stay at Lyon, *VA*, p. 130.

Towards the end of the *Historia*, reflecting on Anselm's death, Eadmer recalls the prognostic read out at the Archbishop's consecration and compares him to the master's servant in the Gospel: 'he went out from England once; he went out a second time, just as the lord bade his servant do in the Gospel. That, in these goings-out he, by preaching, by warning, by correcting, brought a vast number of men of other nations to the Lord's supper, as we know without any shadow of a doubt, we who were his companions in his journeying and in his labours.'[56] As he argues, Anselm did not desert his flock except legitimately, in the body. In the spirit he remained with them, tending his sheep from a distance. He accepts the severity of oppression during Anselm's absence and that 'everywhere was a spectacle of misery', but argues that Anselm was in fact sharing in the suffering of his flock, and they his.[57]

These features — exile as a pilgrimage and as the act of the good shepherd rather than the mercenary — are also present in a number of the *Lives* of Thomas, but they are far more developed than in Eadmer's works. In particular in the *Life* by Herbert of Bosham, the only one of the biographers who was at the Archbishop's side throughout these years, Thomas's inner development and his actions on behalf of the Church are united to present the exile as a path to martyrdom.

For Thomas and his correspondents, and for his posthumous biographers, the favoured term for the exile is *peregrinatio*. The biographers make much of Thomas's change of circumstances, drawing a contrast with his earlier life, both as chancellor and Archbishop, and pointing to his new life as a time of spiritual progress. Just as, upon appointment to Canterbury, Thomas had 'put off the old man and put on the new', in flight he cast off the luxuries and comforts of his earlier life in favour of a simpler and humbler regime.[58] We are told that he changed his dress, adopting the rough tunic and shoes of a lay brother.[59] According to Herbert he left England with no possessions but his pallium and seal, and 'with no bag, no bread, no money in his belt, but wearing only the hairshirt above his nakedness he followed Jesus'.[60] A little later he remarks that Thomas 'carried nothing with him on the way but the faith and poverty of the Crucified, he who had been nourished on magnificent luxury'.[61] When the Archbishop reached Flanders he was forced to make his way south towards Sens over difficult

[56] *HN*, p. 214; see Luke 14. 16–18.

[57] Eadmer's discussion of the exiles' receipt of a relic of Saint Prisca and his insertion of a letter from Pope Paschal with which he follows it, both of which dwell on the theme of unity despite separation, may be a comment on Anselm's exile: *HN*, pp. 162–63; *Ep.* 352, *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi opera omnia*, IV, 293.

[58] *MTB*, I, 10; II, 306; III, 37, 185, 193; IV, 19, 88; see Ephesians 4. 20–24, Colossians 3. 9. For the biographers' treatment of the theme, see M. Staunton, 'Thomas Becket's Conversion', *ANS*, 21 (1999), 193–211.

[59] *MTB*, IV, 55.

[60] *MTB*, III, 319.

[61] *MTB*, III, 322.

terrain, begging 'as a desolate and exiled pilgrim', a change of circumstances which leads many writers to reflect on the fickle and transient nature of worldly glory.[62] William of Canterbury composed a verse on the subject, in which he describes how 'Once exalted, by a great crowd escorted / First of the first is now exiled and lowest'.[63] At one point on the journey, the Archbishop's companions are reported as procuring a humble packhorse for him for the price of a penny, with cloth for a saddle and hay for a bridle. The contrast with his former life, when he had the choice of the finest horses, is made by many writers, but a certain glory is also discerned in such ignominy. William of Canterbury associates this image with Christ's entry into Jerusalem, and Herbert explicitly identifies it with Thomas's process of conversion:

> What a sight to see Thomas, once on chariots and horses, now astride a packhorse, with only a halter around its neck for a bridle and the rags of the poor brothers and lay brothers on its back for a saddle! What a change of circumstances, Thomas! Where are those horses and knights you used to have, all those rich and ostentatious trappings? Look at all these now reduced to one packhorse and one halter, and not even your own packhorse or halter but another's. As you change, the things belonging to you also change, as your old things pass away and become new. Truly God is marvelous in his saints, Who leads them down a wonderful road, from tribulation gladdening, from pressure expanding, from temptation proving, by destroying building, by persecuting healing, by killing giving life.[64]

Despite the hardship of the journey, writes William, 'the forward movement of virtues makes your exile safe'.[65]

Between 1164 and 1166, Thomas stayed at the Cistercian monastery of Pontigny, a sojourn characterized as a penance for his former life and a period of rest, but also as a time of inner development and preparation for the fight ahead. Thomas is described as subjecting himself to privations and mortifications.[66] And, in an echo of Anselm on the mountain of Liberi, William of Canterbury, employing traditional imagery on the subject, suggests that the Archbishop managed to combine contemplation with action on behalf of his neighbour:

> Now with Mary he sat at the feet of the Lord Jesus, now with Martha he exerted himself in the ministry of the Lord Jesus, learning from experience what might be delightful under the joy of Rachel, what is harsh under her sister duty [. . .] and while he ranged between the dealings of heaven and earth, in turn he is present in the things of men and the conversations of angels.[67]

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[62] *MTB*, II, 402.

[63] *MTB*, I, 42.

[64] *MTB*, III, 325; see II Corinthians 5. 17, Psalm 67. 36.

[65] *MTB*, I, 42.

[66] *MTB*, II, 412–13; III, 376–79; IV, 118.

[67] *MTB*, I, 49; see Luke 10. 38–42 and Genesis 1. 29–31. For a discussion of the two lives in medieval writing, see C. Butler, *Western Mysticism* (London: Constable, 1926), pp. 227–87.

At Pontigny Thomas also underwent a course of study in which he meditated on the Scriptures, canon law, and especially theology, in order to tutor himself in how to rule over others.[68] Herbert of Bosham was Thomas's teacher of Scriptures at Pontigny, and he describes how this was the time which Thomas had always longed for, when

> as if after a time of dense cloud, he soon began to turn himself with all his mind to the serenity and tranquillity of divine light, giving himself entirely to reading, prayer and meditation [. . .]. That monastery was to us like a training-school for combat, in which we were exercised together, a school of virtue in which we were educated together, so that every day we would say to the Lord, 'It is good for us we are afflicted, that we may learn thy statutes.'[69]

If the early phase of Thomas's exile was one of rest and preparation, by 1166 it was time for the pastor to rouse himself to action on behalf of his flock. In that year Thomas was granted papal legation within the province of Canterbury, an office which crucially gave him the power of excommunication. In June 1166 the dispute erupted once again as Thomas excommunicated 'enemies of the Church' at Vézelay, and the remaining years of the exile were dominated by negotiations and conferences. The political nature of the exile is touched upon by many biographers, but it is nowhere more prominent than in Herbert of Bosham's *Life*. Throughout, Thomas is presented as the righteous defender of the flock in contrast to the English bishops who had failed in their duty. Indeed Herbert prefaces his account of Thomas's flight from England with a lengthy reflection on the theme. He begins by pointing to parallels with Jesus, Paul, Jacob, and Elias, and to the Lord's mandate to flee from city to city. 'Therefore,' he writes, 'no apology is necessary for Thomas's flight; rather, the flight of those who remained, namely the provincial bishops, is inexcusable.'[70] Then, under the heading *Spiritual flight, where the mercenary, not the shepherd, flees*, he expands on this theme:

> Certainly they who remained fled; for no one can deny that they fled, who deserting their archbishop, the leader of their army, in the day of battle, crossed to the other side. They fled like the tribe of Ephraim, who being armed and carrying bows — that is, preparing themselves in advance for the battle and promising help — were turned in the day of the battle. Remaining in the body, and embracing the things of the flesh, they fled in the spirit. Under the bushel of fear they abandoned the arms of their militia and the light of truth, when they ought to have risen from adversity against the princes and powers of this world, and stood for the house of Israel in the battle in the day of the Lord. Otherwise the soldier of the Lord carries the sword without cause; rather, as we already said, under the bushel of fear abandons his sword and flees, even if not in

[68] *MTB*, III, 358, 379; IV, 118. See John of Salisbury's advice to Thomas on the subject, *Letters of John of Salisbury*, II, no. 144, pp. 32–35.

[69] *MTB*, III, 358; see Ecclesiasticus 38. 24; Psalm 119. 71.

[70] *MTB*, III, 319–20.

> the body, nevertheless in the spirit. Indeed this flight, not of the body but the spirit, is always inexcusable, which fear or love of the world produces in the hireling.

Such ministers of the altar, laments Herbert, in their gilded temples observe the duty of singing and praying, but not that of arguing, rebuking, resisting, and opposing oneself to worldly powers lest they lose worldly advantage.

> Fleeing in this way they attained what the fleeing Thomas despised, their flight certainly perishing from Thomas in his flight, so that fleeing he could truly sing that line from the Psalm along the way, 'Flight perished from me, and no one requires my spirit.'[71]

Here Herbert refers back to the accusation of 'fleeing in the day of the battle' made by Thomas against the English bishops and turned back on the Archbishop by Gilbert Foliot, but his principal source is one which does not appear to be used by other biographers: Augustine's theological and antiheretical writings. Augustine, in *Contra Gaudentium*, challenges the Donatists' view, based on John 10. 11–12, that episcopal flight is always wrong. Such a blanket rejection of flight, he argues, identifies Paul in his flight as a hireling. Rather, Augustine claims, 'the hireling to which the Lord refers, sees the wolf and flees, not in the body but in the spirit, when he abandons righteousness through fear'.[72] His discussion of John 10. 11–12 in *In Iohannis Evangelium* expands upon this argument. Surely, he writes, Peter, Paul, and the apostles were not hirelings when they fled. Who, then, is the hireling? 'He who seeks his own, and not the things of Jesus Christ. He who dares not freely denounce a sinner.' He who ought to rebuke or excommunicate a sinner often, through fear of losing the advantage of human friendship, remains silent, and in this way the wolf seizes the sheep by the throat:

> You are silent and do not condemn. O hireling, you saw the wolf coming and fled. Perhaps you say in response, 'Look, here I am, I did not flee.' You fled because you were silent; you were silent because you were afraid. You stood in the body but fled in the spirit, unlike [Paul] who said 'For though I am absent in body, yet I am with you in spirit.' For how did he flee in the spirit, who though absent in the body, corrected the fornicators in his letters?[73]

Augustine also discusses this theme with reference to Psalm 141. 4, 'Flight perished from me':

> Flight perishes from him who does not flee. For he who does not flee suffers whatever he can for Christ. That is, he does not flee in the spirit. For it is lawful to flee in the body, it is allowed, it is permitted, according to the Lord's saying, 'If you are

[71] *MTB*, III, 320–22; see Psalm 77 (78). 9–10; Ezekiel 13. 9–11; Psalm 141. 6.

[72] Augustine, *Contra Gaudentium* 1.16, CSEL, 53 (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1910), pp. 211–12.

[73] Augustine, *In Iohannis evangelium* 46. 7, 8, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina (hereafter CCSL), 36 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1954), pp. 402–03; see Colossians 2. 5.

> persecuted in one city, flee into another.' Therefore flight perishes from the man who does not flee in the spirit.[74]

Herbert, in employing Augustine's doctrine of spiritual flight, not only refutes the charge of cowardice made against Thomas, but characterizes the exile as an act of bravery, in contrast to the spiritual cowardice and betrayal of the bishops. Rather than fleeing from death, his progress through exile was a brave defence of the Church's cause. It was also a journey towards a willingly undertaken death. These themes are recapitulated in his reflections on Thomas's reasons for return, a subject which is largely neglected by other writers. Here he combines Augustine's idea of physical flight as spiritual adhesion with the same writer's discussion of legitimate flight in his letter to Honoratus to present Thomas's exile, return, and martyrdom as part of an integrated whole.

Many biographers suggest that, though Thomas's glorious death was destined, he was allowed to evade death before he and his cause had reached maturity. As a child he fell into a mill but miraculously evaded death 'lest the light of Israel be extinguished', a reference to David's escape from the battlefield.[75] Likewise, as 'Roger of Pontigny' remarks, he fled England not in fear for himself but for his church, choosing 'not to evade death, but to defer it for a time'.[76] The Lambeth Anonymous writes that 'if first, [Thomas] fled by the example of Christ, Paul and the other disciples, choosing the most suitable and useful time for the Church, then, when the time advised, that is, after a saintly course of life, and having made public the righteousness of his cause', he chose martyrdom.[77] Herbert, commenting that 'flight perished' from the Archbishop, puts it most succinctly: 'Realizing that there is a time for all things, a time for fleeing and a time for advancing, he first fled (*fugit*), but later fearlessly advanced (*occurrit*)', following the example of Jesus who had done likewise.[78]

Herbert's fullest meditation on this theme occurs in his account of the aftermath of the Council of Montmartre in November 1169, a year before Thomas's return. Despite the King abandoning the royal customs and promising full restoration to the Archbishop, negotiations had collapsed when Thomas demanded a kiss of peace from Henry. Herbert reports a lengthy speech by Thomas's advisors in which they assert that such a demand presents no reason to abandon a peaceful settlement which will ensure their return. In Herbert's interpretation, Thomas fled because he was

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[74] Augustine, *Ennarationes super psalmos*, 141. 11–12, CCSL, 40 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1956), p. 2053. See also at Psalm 14. 4, Peter Lombard, *Commentaria in Psalmos*, PL, 191, col. 1245. Similar arguments appear in *Contra Faustum Manichaeum* 22. 36, CSEL, 25 (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1891), pp. 629–30, and more briefly in *Sermon* 133.7, PL, 38, cols 741–42, and *De opere monachorum* 27. 35, CSEL, 41 (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1900), pp. 583–84.

[75] *MTB*, II, 360–61; II Samuel 21. 17. See Augustine, *Ep*. 228. 10, CSEL, 57, p. 492.

[76] *MTB*, IV, 53.

[77] *MTB*, IV, 122.

[78] *MTB*, III, 322, 319.

facing personal, rather than common, persecution, and his flock was not left bereft of ministers. However, these ministers, by 'fleeing in the day of the battle', had failed the flock, so that now there existed a general danger to the English Church, rather than a specific threat to Thomas.

Now, say Thomas's advisers, as they enter upon the sixth year of exile, their great consolation is that 'the truth and poverty of our pilgrimage are inseparable allies. Our cause, as a rising light, every day becomes clearer and clearer to the world, as shown even by the testimony of our enemies'. The disputes which prompted and sustained their exile — the royal customs, property matters, the recognition of 'God's honour' — have now been laid to rest, and the only matter which thwarted reconciliation at Montmartre was the King's denial to Thomas of the kiss of peace. This ought not, they say, cause the Archbishop to remain absent from his Church, 'certainly when there is danger to many from the common (*commune*) absence of the priest'. There is no one to teach, to celebrate the sacraments, to rebuke the sinner, and thus the sheep are allowed to stray before the wolf:

> And thus from your absence there is great detriment to the church both in spiritual and temporal things, great harm and common (*commune*) danger. Up to this certainly the cause of your absence and exile was most just; but now, in this common danger and general (*generale*) threat, neither absence nor the cause of exile can be just or excusable, but rather damnable and more damnable to the damnable; especially when now the personal (*personalis*) persecution, on account of which you fled, has passed away, the king publicly offering your church to you in all security and peace, whatever he himself may arrange, whatever he might desire within. Therefore now that personal persecution which went before is remiss, to which (as we have already shown) the general succeeded, in which the good pastor is bound not to absent himself, not to flee, but to ascend from adversity, to oppose himself, and among the swords even naked and revealed to hurl himself, and thus, if it is necessary, to lay down his life for his sheep. And so to the priestly man there is a time of fleeing (*fugendi*) and a time of advancing (*occurendi*): the time of flight when the person is sought, as the Lord said, 'If you are persecuted in one town flee to another', but a time of advancing when the Church is endangered. Concerning which Scripture says, 'He advanced like a lion, he scorned fear nor did he withdraw the sword.'

In such a way, they say, Paul first fled from Damascus by escaping out a window, but later went into Jerusalem to die. Jesus as a child fled into Egypt, but later as a robust adult advanced.

> So He who said to his people, when they were still like delicate children on their mothers' milk, 'If you are persecuted in one town flee to the next', later in speech and in deed, taught them as robust adults that they ought to advance, saying 'Behold, I send you as sheep before wolves — Go!'[79]

[79] *MTB*, III, 451–57; see Acts 20. 24; Job 39. 22. Herbert refers to recent discussions after Montmartre, *MTB*, VII, no. 653, p. 267.

The return to Canterbury at the start of December 1170 and the martyrdom weeks later proved to be the perfection of Becket's spiritual journey. Thomas was, as Herbert writes, 'great in pilgrimage, great in the return from pilgrimage, but greatest in the consummation of pilgrimage'.[80] No excuse is necessary for the flight of a good shepherd. He fled at the appropriate moment, and when his time had come he returned to lay down his life for the sheep. The return to England proved that the exile had not been a flight from duty but a journey towards martyrdom.

When Thomas became Archbishop he accepted Anselm as his model, carrying his predecessor's *Prayers and Meditations* with him at all times and pressing for his canonization. Thomas, in his conflict with Henry II, built upon Anselm's legacy in advancing ecclesiastical liberty against secular control. Many of Thomas's biographers, whether through direct influence or not, built upon Eadmer's literary legacy, describing recent events with detail and acuity, while simultaneously reflecting upon them in the light of church tradition. In the discussion of exile we can see this continuity. In both cases, exile is presented as favourable to God and man, the fruitful pilgrimage of a good shepherd who tends his flock from afar, an act of growth for the saint's spirituality and for his church. In both cases the treatment of exile is also framed by contemporary criticism and by contemporary thought regarding episcopal exile, but here Thomas's biographers diverge from Eadmer. Ernulf in his reference to ancient precepts and in the general thrust of his letter, suggests a knowledge of the ideas expressed by Augustine and found in twelfth-century canon law connections, but no explicit reference is evident. Likewise, Eadmer addresses the broad issues raised by Augustine, and uses the imagery of the shepherd and the mercenary, but does not refer directly to Augustine. It is difficult to tell whether this is due to ignorance or the belief that Augustine's specific precepts would not support Anselm's case. Gilbert Foliot, in his criticism of Thomas's exile, makes no more specific reference to Augustine, but his letter of 1140 to the monk of Hereford suggests that he was aware of these precepts. Thomas's biographers discussed here clearly knew them whether directly or through canon law, as one would expect in the cases of William of Canterbury and the Lambeth Anonymous who make frequent use of the canons throughout their *Lives*.

The acceptance of these 'traditional precepts' in Anglo-Norman England reflected a culture in which exile was frowned upon for practical reasons: the seizure of episcopal resources and the withdrawal of the Church's leadership. That they were framed in an age of persecution, and their rigid nature, meant that episcopal exile was very difficult to justify in late eleventh- and twelfth-century England. Thomas's biographers were able to appeal to Augustine's precepts because Thomas was a saint who broke the rules. His cult, that of a martyr venerated at the place where he fell, whose legacy was perceived as one of righteous defence of the Church, was in many ways closer to the saintly cults of the Augustinian age that it was to those of twelfth-

[80] *MTB*, III, 471.

century England. Thomas's violent death and extraordinary popular acclaim meant that the discussion of his exile had a triumphant quality absent in Eadmer's works. As the biographers and many others saw it, the glorious consummation of Thomas's life had revealed a hitherto unrecognized significance to the controversial features of his life: his time as chancellor, his opposition to the King, and his exile.

During their stay at Pontigny, Thomas suggested to Herbert of Bosham that he revise Peter Lombard's *Great Gloss on the Psalms and Epistles*, a work which he completed shortly after the Archbishop's murder. If one turns to the account of Paul's escape from Damascus at II Corinthians 11, one finds the Lombard citing other examples of justified flight, based on Augustine's letter to Honoratus. Beside this, Herbert has added the name of the most recent example: *neomartyr noster beatus Thomas*.[81] Here the discussion has come full circle. He whose exile was first condemned, and then justified, on the basis of ancient tradition, has himself become part of that tradition.

[81] Cambridge, Trinity College, MS 5. 6. Here Herbert makes a cross-reference to Psalm 141. 6, 'Flight perished from me', but unfortunately the relevant folio is missing from Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. E. inf. 6.

Exile in the Life and Correspondence of John of Salisbury

LYNSEY ROBERTSON

Preserved in the collection of his letters which John of Salisbury (*c*. 1120–80) compiled is a fascinating record of exile experienced by this eminent scholar of the twelfth century, who numbered amongst his friends and acquaintances some of the foremost men of his day, and amongst his achievements the production of the *Policraticus* and the *Metalogicon*. An early friend of Thomas Becket from the time when they were both members of the circle of highly talented men at the curia of Archbishop Theobald (which John entered probably in 1147), on Becket's elevation to Canterbury in 1163 John retained his rôle of adviser to the Archbishop.[1] When Becket fled into exile to France in October 1164, John was already there in anticipation of this eventuality, as a letter which he wrote from France to Becket in England indicates, a circumstance which will be discussed more fully later. He remained in exile as a supporter of Becket, returning with him to England in 1170, where famously he was a witness to the martyrdom. In 1176 he was made Bishop of Chartres, in which post he died four years later.

In examining the part which exile played in John's life and writings, I have focused chiefly on this collection of letters, which is published in two volumes, and to a lesser extent on his *Historia Pontificalis*, a history of papal affairs in the four-year period from 1148, which includes an account of the Council of Reims (1148), Archbishop Theobald's flight to which led to his first period in exile.[2] This history,

[1] For a summary of the arguments concerned with the dating of John's entry into the household of Archbishop Theobald, see Avrom Saltman, *Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury* (London: Athlone Press, 1956), pp. 169–74.

[2] While his *Policraticus* contains material on exile, the primary focus in this essay on his correspondence has made it impractical to include a discussion of this work here: John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, ed. and trans. by C. J. Nederman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

which was appended to the Chronicle of Sigebert of Gembloux, is argued by Marjorie Chibnall to have been written during John's first full year in exile, 1164.[3] The letters, as C. N. L. Brooke says in his introduction to them, form two distinct collections — hence the two volumes — the first dating from 1154 to Theobald's death in 1161, and the second from 1163, after Becket's consecration, to John's own death.[4]

The theme of exile is especially dominant in the second of the two volumes of letters, in which the majority of the correspondence was written by John in exile, and where even those letters which are not immediately concerned with the exile contain a plea for aid. But it is also present in the first volume of the letters, when around the year 1156 John feared he would be forced to go into exile, under circumstances which are not clear, but which have occasioned much speculation. The connection between these two instances of John's engagement with the issue of exile must be examined, particularly as the central figure of Becket which dominates the years of banishment in the 1160s is present in the letters of 1156 only peripherally as a favourite of the king, whose aid John hopes to enlist. The development of John's thought concerning exile and his evolving use of imagery from this earlier threat to the later period of actual banishment will also be discussed.

There are two main aspects of John's thought concerning exile which I would like to explore. Firstly I hope, through a close examination of his letters and the language and imagery which he employs in them, to explore the different facets of his views of the concept of exile, particularly its spiritual aspect, which he emphasized when writing of Becket and his followers. Secondly, I will consider how John saw Becket's exile in relation to the exiles which his predecessors at Canterbury, Archbishop Theobald and Saint Anselm, also suffered. John had prepared a *Life* of Saint Anselm at Becket's request in 1163, and we know that he had read Eadmer's *Historia Novorum*.[5] There are allusions in the letters which reveal John's awareness that parallels between the situations of Becket and Saint Anselm in particular might be drawn — as indeed they have been by modern commentators — yet for the most part he chooses not to do so. Before examining these questions, however, the circumstances of both John's feared exile of 1156 and his actual exile in late 1163 must be considered.

There has been much speculation about the causes of John's initial fall into the king's disfavour in the mid-1150s. John's letters of this time suggest that he feared an actual trial: 'the entreaties of my friends at last persuaded me to await the investigation of my case, if possible, at home [. . .]. I had assigned the task of my defence to your

[3] John of Salisbury, *The Historia Pontificalis of John of Salisbury*, ed. and trans. by M. Chibnall, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), Introduction, p. xxx. The argument is based on an inference rather than an explicit statement made by John of Salisbury, but appears very convincing.

[4] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, Introduction, I, p. lvii.

[5] John of Salisbury, 'Vita Sancti Anselmi Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis', PL, 199, cols 1009–40. For John's reference to having read the *Historia Novorum*, see *Letters of John of Salisbury*, II, no. 303; also this essay, below.

faithful friends and mine, the venerable John, treasurer of York, and Master William.'[6] He himself was in no doubt that the problem had arisen as a result of his latest journey to Rome: 'After I returned from the Church of Rome, Fortune piled on me such a load of bitter troubles that I think I have never before endured anything to call trouble.'[7] He writes that he was accused of 'diminishing the king's majesty' ('Solus in regno regiam dicor minuere maiestatem'), although why this charge should be brought is not clear.[8] In this same letter to Peter of Celle John sees himself at the centre of the broader question of the ultimate jurisdiction over the English Church, but is frustratingly lacking in specificity concerning the trigger for the accusation against him:

> If any one among us invokes the name of Rome, they say it is my doing. If the English Church ventures to claim even the shadow of liberty in making elections or in the trial of ecclesiastical causes, it is imputed to me, as if I were the only person to instruct the archbishop of Canterbury and the other bishops what they ought to do.[9]

He later writes in broader ideological terms that 'my crimes are that I profess freedom and defend the truth.'[10]

All the suggestions which have been made regarding the reason for John's fall into royal disfavour in 1156 centre on the relationship between the English Church, the English king, and the papacy; but no final agreement has been reached on how John's involvement in this relationship, in this particular instance, led to his difficulties. Most authors believe that whilst a single incident may have triggered John's fear of banishment, this would have been regarded by Henry as only one instance of John's dangerous influence at Canterbury. Only Avrom Saltman takes the converse view of 'John, who, after all, was nothing more than Theobald's mouthpiece during these years. It [the attack on John] might be described as an attack on Theobald himself.'[11] The nature of this incident is the subject of a number of different theories. C. C. J. Webb surmised that, as Theobald found that he had fallen out of favour with the Pope and cardinals, John pleaded with Pope Adrian IV (1153–59) on his behalf, which 'was reported to Henry II by a prelate who was devoted to that king's service, Bishop Arnulf of Lisieux, to have been in some way injurious to the dignity of the crown'.[12] John does accuse Arnulf of having fomented the King's wrath against him:

> The bishop of Lisieux is a hammer of iniquity and seeks to break the Church of God in pieces. He has heaped up the king's indignation against my poor self to such an extent

[6] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, I, no. 31.

[7] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, I, no. 19.

[8] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, I, no. 19.

[9] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, I, no. 19.

[10] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, I, no. 31.

[11] Saltman, *Theobald*, p. 159.

[12] C. C. J. Webb, *John of Salisbury* (London: Methuen, 1932), p. 18.

> that the king himself has denounced me both to the archbishop of Canterbury and to his chancellor for abasing the royal dignity.[13]

Webb's argument, however, seems inconclusive, and some doubt is cast on Saltman's suggestion that John was regarded merely as the Archbishop's mouthpiece by the fact of his having been denounced to that same Archbishop. Far more enticing is the argument of Giles Constable who, having proved John's 'disgrace' to have occurred in 1156 rather than 1159, as was previously thought to be the case, also put forward two possible contributory factors to this disgrace. He argues that John's letter to Henry voicing his opposition to the levying of scutage on the Church may have led Henry to believe that

> the active secretary to the archbishop of Canterbury was behind this and other efforts of the church to preserve her immunities [. . .]. The second, and it seems more probable, cause for John's disgrace may have been his actions and statements before the pope while the embassy [to obtain papal approval for the invasion of Ireland] was at Benevento in 1155–6 [. . .]. Arnulf of Lisieux was one of the envoys and therefore in a position to report to the king about John. The hot-tempered and ambitious Henry can scarcely have been pleased with the outcome of this mission. The assertions of ecclesiastical independence and expansion of papal influence, carried out under the very noses and as it were with the consent of the royal ambassadors, constituted a clear victory for Adrian. And the disappointed Henry may well have been convinced by Arnulf, himself perhaps anxious to find a scapegoat and jealous of John's influence with the pope, that the fault lay with John of Salisbury.[14]

R. W. Southern, on the other hand, laid the greater weight on John's shoulders by holding him responsible — as he believed that Henry also did — for increased papal involvement in the affairs of the English Church, to which Henry was greatly opposed. Following on from Adrian's letter to Theobald in which the Archbishop was accused of conspiring with the King to obstruct the making of appeals to Rome, Southern asserts that when John visited the papacy Adrian 'gave John some kind of commission to see that the pope's interests were represented at the court of the archbishop of Canterbury', so that having returned to England in the summer of 1156 John 'was soon notorious as the upholder of papal privileges and as the man responsible for archiepiscopal policy'.[15] He also suggests that the content of John's first volume of letters shows an increase in the number of appeals to the papacy, concluding that, 'Above all we can see that England's immunity to the operation of papal justice, of which Adrian complained in 1156, had abruptly ceased since John of Salisbury's return from the papal court.'[16]

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[13] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, I, no. 30.

[14] Giles Constable, 'The Alleged Disgrace of John of Salisbury in 1159', *EHR*, 69 (1954), 67–76 (pp. 74–75).

[15] R. W. Southern, *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1970), pp. 245–46.

[16] Southern, *Medieval Humanism*, p. 246.

It is not clear to which episode Southern refers when he draws the inference that some sort of commission was granted to John, and although from John's own evidence we can see that he believed himself to be blamed for the English Church's attempts to affirm its liberties, Southern's claims for his influence do seem overgenerous from the available evidence. The debate may never finally be settled, but whatever the cause of John's fall into disfavour, Henry on that occasion yielded to pressure from men such as his chancellor and the Pope to leave John, for the moment, unmolested. Although John's influence with the papacy diminished after Adrian's death, his influence at Canterbury did not, and it is possible that this may have been a cause of a continuing dislike of John on the part of Henry or his advisers, and have contributed to John's decision to leave the country in 1163.

There is evidence in one letter in the collection that Henry's disfavour towards John continued and led to the latter's decision to go into exile in late 1163. This letter is the first in the second volume (no. 136) and can be positively identified from its content as having been written before Becket fled into exile, but after John's own flight. Addressed to Becket, it shows that one of the reasons why John left England was to act as Becket's agent, following his secret instructions to gather support on the continent in the eventuality of his being forced to go into exile. When, for example, John writes of having chanced upon Count Philip of Amiens and Vermandois (and Flanders) on the road, he tells Becket that 'God had put in my way a chance of carrying out your instructions without a long additional journey'.[17] That John acted under Becket's orders is also demonstrated in this letter when he refers to Becket's advice that he stay in Paris as a scholar to 'avoid rousing suspicions'.[18] However, it is also the only letter to show that John also left England for reasons other than to act for Becket. In it, he writes, 'I am under the king's disfavour (for nothing, on my conscience!)', a phrase strongly reminiscent of previous correspondence in the 1150s, before Becket's involvement in any defence of the Church's liberties.

When writing of his exile, John uses two terms, usually with a distinct meaning: *exilium* and *proscriptio*. In several of the later letters, he counts his years in exile from two separate dates, that of his exile and that of his proscription: 'Siquidem iam exilii mei quartus agitur annus et tertius proscriptionis.'[19] That he considered this time in France before Christmas 1164 to be exile is further shown in the letter to Becket aforementioned, in which, when describing the atmosphere in Paris, he quotes from Ovid, saying: 'A happy thing is exile, in such a place as this.'[20] The conclusion that may be drawn is that John had already been abroad in what he considered to be exile for a year when he was proscribed, along with Becket's other clerks

[17] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, II, no. 136.

[18] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, II, no. 136.

[19] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, II, no. 192: 'I am now in the fourth year of my exile, and the third of my proscription.'

[20] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, II, no. 136.

and dependants, in the Christmas of 1164. That his proscription was due to his association with Becket is clear, and he could not in any case have avoided the punishment meted out with such shocking thoroughness on all those associated with the Archbishop. In a letter dated to the early period of the exile, 1164–65, Peter of Celle wrote on John's behalf to Abbot Hugh of St-Amand, asserting that 'the English king's wrath is on him, not by his own desert (as we can say on our own conscience as well as his), but because he has served his master the archbishop of Canterbury as he should'.[21] Most of John's letters concerning his attempts at reconciliation show that to achieve this it would be demanded that he abjure obedience to Becket. In one of his attempts to be received back into favour in the early period of his exile, he was required to 'swear on holy relics that I was not on this side of the Channel against his [the king's] honour or his interests'.[22] On referring this to the Pope, he was advised not to agree to this but 'to wait till the king's wrath subsides a little. Some then pressed me to give security that I would not help the archbishop in any way thereafter, and so return to the king's favour.'[23] This of course he refused to do. It is likely that Henry was aware of the work that John was doing for Becket on the continent, making his proscription even more necessary, above the blanket condemnation of Becket's friends and followers. The letter written by Peter of Celle on John's behalf cited above shows what was required before John would be able to return to England:

> I earnestly beg you of your affection to [. . .] reconcile him to the English king by your own and the count of Flanders' mediation: further (as you will see is needful) ask for royal letters patent to give him a safe return and peaceful enjoyment of his goods.[24]

John seems to use *proscriptio* in the legal sense of banishment pronounced as a punishment, whereas exile has the potential to be used with broader meaning, although with the sense of compulsion still evident. The term 'exile' can be expanded to be used in a more metaphorical sense than 'proscription'. Thus, in an early letter to Peter of Celle John recalls the time when he was a poverty-stricken student in France and was too poor to return home:

> It was a great achievement to make such provision for an exile as enabled me to enjoy the benefits of a citizen in a foreign country. But it was an even greater achievement that your care saw to it that I should not be exiled for ever from my native land, a treasure that is dear to all mankind.[25]

This does not describe an official banishment, but is used in a metaphorical sense to describe a period of enforced absence from home, in this case due to financial

[21] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, II, no. 143; *The Letters of Peter of Celle*, ed. by Julian Haseldine, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), no. 136, pp. 506–07.

[22] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, II, no. 139.

[23] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, II, no. 139.

[24] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, II, no. 143; *Letters of Peter of Celle*, no. 136, pp. 506–07.

[25] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, I, no. 33.

considerations. When he was given a letter of introduction from Saint Bernard to Archbishop Theobald, who gave him the employment for which the letter asked, then the 'exile' was ended. When therefore John later refers to his departure from England in 1163 as the commencement of his 'exile', it need not mean that he was ordered to leave as a form of punishment: indeed, he wrote that he 'went to the queen for licence to depart', showing that his departure was in some measure voluntary.[26] Voluntary departure, however, under certain circumstances need not mean that the way was open for a voluntary return, and it was with this outcome in mind that John wrote to Peter of Celle at the beginning of April 1157 regarding his deliberations on whether to flee or stay before the King returned to England:

> To leave the island might suggest that I was a fugitive; to refuse to meet my calumniators might seem to argue a guilty conscience; not to await the sight of my sovereign might expose me to the laws of *lèse-majesté*. In fine the testimony of a clear conscience, the authority of the Roman pontiff, the counsels of the wise and the entreaties of my friends at last persuaded me to await the investigation of the case, if possible, at home, in hopes of an outcome at once less expensive and more auspicious.[27]

'Exile', then, was a term which had the flexibility to be used in a metaphorical sense, and John sometimes uses it as a potent image. He expands its meaning, for example, to describe a condition of internal exile, being an outcast in one's own country. To Pope Adrian in 1156 he wrote: 'He is twice an exile, who is an exile in his own home, whilst those who go a pilgrimage are sometimes attended by the blessing of that foreordained felicity.'[28] This is a recurrent theme when John writes of his brother Richard, whom he regarded as suffering in this manner, encouraging him to leave England with him. At some point Richard returned to England, but later rejoined his brother in France. A number of John's letters were written to friends on Richard's behalf, thanking them for their kindness to him when he was in England and under a weight of disgrace. A letter to Baldwin, archdeacon of Totnes, is one such, and in this John elucidates the notion of an internal exile:

> and my brother even more: for I think his lot harder than mine, save that our hearts have everything in common, and so our condition is the same. To be exiled at home is a specially grievous exile [. . .] to be in want or lose one's fame among one's own people — there is less shame in being a beggar among strangers. We have both had a little experience (a little? — a great deal!) of this misfortune.[29]

This use of exile as a metaphor in some ways reflects that which is found when our earthly life is described as an 'exile from God'. John uses this expression in a very interesting letter to Master John Saracen in which he discusses the spiritual and

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[26] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, II, no. 136.

[27] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, I, no. 31; see also *Letters of Peter of Celle*, Appendix 8, p. 712.

[28] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, I, no. 21.

[29] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, II, no. 170.

philosophical benefits of exile: 'For the Christian, too, the whole world is exile, a pilgrimage apart from God.'[30] This concept is identified by Millor, Butler, and Brooke as originating from Saint Paul's second letter to the Corinthians, where he writes that, 'Therefore we are always confident, knowing that, whilst we are at home in the body, we are absent from the Lord [. . .]. We are confident, I say, and willing rather to be absent from the body, and to be present with the Lord.'[31] Saint Anselm, too, makes use of this same concept of life before death as an exile from God. In the first letter of his exile he writes to Pope Urban: 'longing for the peace of their heavenly home, are wearied by all sorts of difficulties in the exile of this world'.[32]

The term 'exile' was loaded with implications and associations which John was able to use effectively in some of the more rhetorical aspects of his writings concerning the exile of himself and Becket's adherents. Whilst he was always aware that his exile was the result of political circumstance and personal royal displeasure, he was also keenly alive to the aspect of his exile which was a symptom and a symbol of the clash of ideologies regarding the ultimate jurisdiction over the English Church. He emphasized this ideological aspect to his correspondents, tireless in reminding them even from the beginning of his threatened exile of 1156 that he suffers for the cause of God, the Church, and justice and is persecuted unjustly by a secular ruler advised by evil counsellors who are the enemies of God. In a letter to Peter of Celle he wrote: 'God is mighty by your prayers and those of His Church, for whose sake I suffer.'[33] After Becket's flight into exile, John portrayed the causes for which the Archbishop and his fellow exiles suffered in similar terms: 'What else do they persecute in the archbishop of Canterbury now, save that in the king's sight he dares to witness to God's justice, to watch over the Church's law, to protect its liberty?'[34]

John remained constant to his conviction in the rectitude of his cause from the time when he was first threatened with the fate of banishment in 1156, throughout the period of his exile. Even in 1156, whilst first contemplating a potential exile, he wrote that 'If necessary, I shall endure this fate for the sake of justice, not only with equanimity, but with joy'.[35] But his tone grows in fervour and the theme is amplified as his exile of the 1160s progresses. In 1156 he had bemoaned the twists of fortune, pleaded his innocence, and spoken of the King in terms of reverence and respect: 'Fortune piled on me such a load of bitter troubles [. . .] innocent as I am, I am charged with a crime far beyond my power to commit [. . .] our most serene lord, our

[30] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, II, no. 194.

[31] II Corinthians 5. 6, 8.

[32] Saint Anselm of Bec, *The Letters of Saint Anselm*, ed. and trans. by W. Fröhlich, 3 vols (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1990–94), II (1994), no. 206.

[33] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, I, no. 31; see also *Letters of Peter of Celle*, Appendix 8, p. 712.

[34] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, II, no. 187.

[35] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, I, no. 19.

all-powerful king.'[36] By late 1166, in contrast, after three years of exile, John's tone is more aggressive, and his emphasis lies not so much on proving his own innocence, as on condemning the King and his counsellors, against whose wicked behaviour towards Becket he launches a fierce invective:

> the tyrant [Henry] [. . .] One could believe indeed that if Moses and Aaron were present here, at the gates of this man whose innocence is so loudly proclaimed, he would refuse to receive them [. . .] or treat them to blows or at least insults [. . .]. [The counsellors] prefer to grovel in the filth rather than rise, be cleaned and restored [. . .] all Balaamites, plotting the means to curse and condemn the cause God had blessed.[37]

This change is in part due to his reaction to specific short-term events. The excerpt quoted above bears something of the nature of an impassioned outburst and was occasioned by news of the appeal of the English bishops to the Pope against Becket. John objected to their claim that the King was unfairly maligned by the Archbishop, being in fact always prepared to listen to criticism and act in accordance with it. Many of the letters in which John most radically intensifies his language concerning the spiritual aspect of exile, specifically the exile of those supporting Becket's cause, were composed as the direct result of some new setback. Therefore the early letters of his exile, dated to 1164–65 before such events as the meeting at Angers (when John failed in his attempt at reconciliation) and the appeal of the bishops, are concerned primarily to stress that he is 'prepared to show that neither the honour due to the king nor his interests have in any way suffered from me, or — if I have in any way done wrong — to make full amends to him as my king and overlord, if it please him, as justice dictates'.[38] In 1167, however, during the crisis of the papal legation to England to hear the bishops' appeal, when one of the two legates was Cardinal William of Pavia, widely perceived to be favourable to the King,[39] John wrote to contacts close to the Pope asking for their intervention with him on the exiles' behalf and condemning the King as a tyrant:

> The Church is so ground down by the power of the king of England and so utterly enslaved that the mere mention of freedom seems to incur a charge of *lèse-majesté* [. . .]. If episcopal office is only allowed to be exercised with the prince's consent, crimes will go unpunished, the violence of tyrants will go unchecked, and in fact the Church itself will shortly fall.[40]

However, even in his letters which most violently condemn the King and all his works, John still urges Becket to moderation, as he had done throughout, and he seems to have retained his belief that his exile would be ended. Although he had

[36] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, I, no. 19.

[37] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, II, no. 187.

[38] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, II, no. 138.

[39] F. Barlow, *Thomas Becket* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1986), p. 163.

[40] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, II, no. 234.

always written of Becket's cause as a defence of God and the Church, the biblical parallels which he now employed amounted to a comparison of the conflict between Becket and the King to that between Good and Evil. The exiles are described as the descendants of the apostles and prophets in their sufferings for Christ. Of the King and his counsellors, John asks:

> What is it then that they persecute? — the spirit of the apostles and prophets, the spirit of justice and truth, the Spirit of Father and Son, beyond question the Holy Spirit: for they hate, abhor and punish that which the Holy Spirit taught by prophets and apostles.[41]

Those who were persecuted alongside Becket John equates with martyrs: 'martyr' deriving from the Greek *martur*, or 'witness', the exiles too were witnesses to Christ, and suffered accordingly. In a letter to Becket which is full of heightened rhetoric concerning the God-inspired fight of him and his followers for the beleaguered Church, John portrays the King's counsellors as the descendants of those who persecuted the early Christians and identifies the exiles with those early martyrs: 'Thus they too [the counsellors] will fulfil the measure of their fathers [. . .] and some of them still persecute Christ's martyrs, that is the witnesses of truth and justice.'[42] In this letter, John expands the analogy yet further in citing Old Testament examples of the continuing struggle for the liberties of the Church to which the exiles are heirs, seeing as their antecedents the Maccabean martyrs who died defending that cause, and David in his fight against Goliath bringing the Church out of slavery. The metaphor of the cause of the exiles as a battle continues in some of the later letters when he writes that Becket 'soldiers on for the Church's liberty'.[43]

The high cause for which the exiles suffered leads John in many of his letters to describe them as spiritually exalted. In writing to Guy, bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne, for example, he considers that the Bishop will be specially blessed because it was an exile to whom he gave aid:

> To take in mercy's arms a passing stranger were laudable in the eyes of men and of great merit before God; but it is far more glorious and will earn (without doubt) a greater reward, to offer to share one's goods with an exile, especially an exile for God and the freedom of the Church.[44]

John sought later to defend Becket's flight from England in 1164 by showing that his actions were 'based on the example of the prophets and apostles, since one may read how David, Elijah, Peter and Paul did the same',[45] in reference to the flights of

[41] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, II, no. 187.

[42] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, II, no. 187.

[43] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, II, no. 251.

[44] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, II, no. 141.

[45] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, II, no. 225. For the persecution of David by Saul, see I Samuel 19; of Elijah by Ahab and Jezebel, I Kings 19; and for the persecutions suffered by the apostles, Acts.

Saints Peter and Paul from Jerusalem when the persecutions began and to the persecution of David by King Saul. John was particularly fond of drawing this comparison between Becket and David, as when in a letter to Becket he expresses his belief that some of the English bishops supported Becket tacitly but were afraid to do so openly, just as, he suggests, 'Jonathan lived in the company of his father Saul, but in utter sincerity his mind was in exile with David'.[46]

As a churchman and a philosopher, John regarded his exile as more than merely a punishment imposed by the King: it was of course ordained by God as part of His divine purpose. Therefore exile is for John a pilgrimage, a means of expressing devotion, and a trial of faith, granted as a blessing from God so that he may follow the example of the saints. He also regarded it as punishment for past sins, and thus an opportunity to perform penance. Becket, he writes to Master Raymond, chancellor of Poitiers Cathedral, does 'penance for his life at court'.[47] But he has not yet suffered enough, John believes: 'I believe that God is not yet applying the final cure, since the archbishop is not deprived of all human aid.'[48] John writes of his own case to Robert, prior of Merton, in terms rather less fervent: 'My sins have brought me to this pass that I am beaten with these scourges, and sharper scourges still — and yet I know not the cause of the beating.'[49] Theologically for John, of course, this punishment is a blessing bestowed by God. He writes in a similar vein of thankfulness for hardship when encouraging Becket, and philosophizes on the benefits of exile to the Archbishop, describing suffering as a gift from God:

> Let us receive with joy the cup of this saving bitterness from the hand of the Lord whose gifts we have so often abused as we were carried to our ruin by the sweet poison of prosperity. For this is the grace of God, who knows so to bless his friends that when they have been purged by many trials He may bring them to the kingdom cleansed and pure and strong.[50]

John, it would seem, believed that he had rather less to gain from the experience than the Archbishop, whose deficiencies in learning and former sins as Chancellor would now be made up: 'the exile has undoubtedly been profitable to the archbishop of Canterbury both for his learning and for his character, and I myself have profited a little, to make me grateful for God's dispensation.'[51]

John perceives further benefits of exile, too, expressed in a letter to his fellow philosopher Master John Saracen, in the opportunity to experience freedom from the

[46] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, II, no. 176.

[47] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, II, no. 167.

[48] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, II, no. 167.

[49] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, II, no. 156.

[50] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, II, no. 176.

[51] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, II, no. 150.

political intrigues of the court, and through lacking worldly goods to have greater opportunities for philosophical exercises and to receive greater spiritual benefits:

> I should be sorry if in a moment of weakness I refer to the bitterness of exile, and I am ashamed to have mentioned it before [. . .]. Perhaps I should rather call him friend, who opened my eyes, formerly dazzled by the absurd fantasies of fortune, drove away courtly trifles and alluring pleasures, urged me on the path of virtue, and numbers me among the throngs of the philosophers. I am far freer than when burdened by worldly chattels and fardels gained by chance [. . .]. For the Christian, too [. . .] is never exalted by prosperity.[52]

It is, admittedly, unusual to find a letter from John exulting in the benefits of hardship and exile, and the tone of the opening of this letter suggests that it was prompted by contrition at having been too complaining in a previous letter, something on which Saracen has commented. John seems to have thus suddenly felt that this exposes what he would regard as an inadequate inhabiting of the rôle of the ideal philosopher, and he responds accordingly and with a degree of shame. Many of his letters, however, record his thankfulness that he has in his exile sufficient worldly goods for his comfort, and more. In that to Henry de Beaumont, bishop of Bayeux, for example, he writes: 'I have temporal resources, by God's mercy, not only to keep me from want but in style.'[53]

In the sense of undergoing a hardship in order to be closer to Christ, and of being part of a journey to God, exile is sometimes described by John in his letters as a pilgrimage. This terminology is used almost as a synonym for exile, as when in a letter to Baldwin, archdeacon of Totnes, he asks him to 'lend your aid to our pilgrimage, I beg you, by your prayers', or when he writes to his brother Richard of 'my pilgrimage'.[54] The metaphor of the exile as a pilgrimage was a familiar one, not least from the imagery actively adopted by Saint Anselm when he left Canterbury to go into his exile, as John recounts in his 1163 *Life* of Saint Anselm, and which is first recorded by Eadmer in the *Historia Novorum*:

> Then surrounded by a great concourse of monks, of clergy and of very many of the people, he in their presence took off from the altar, as other pilgrims do, his scrip and staff and, having commended them all to Christ, amid loud weeping and lamentation, he set out.[55]

In a letter to Bishop Bartholomew of Exeter, a frequent recipient of his letters, John sees exile as ordained by God as part of the divine plan, and so the exile who

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[52] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, II, no. 194.

[53] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, II, no. 191.

[54] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, II, nos 170, 172.

[55] Eadmer, *Eadmer's History of Recent Events in England: Historia novorum in Anglia*, trans. by G. Bosanquet (London: Cresset Press, 1964), p. 91. See also John of Salisbury, 'Vita Sancti Anselmi', col. 1025. For Saint Anselm, see also Michael Staunton's essay in this volume.

suffers for God has been set aside specially for this purpose and is fulfilling a rôle which has been foreordained for him:

> We shall return when He pleases who has set us apart for exile, and for whom, so far as He pleases, we have chosen most readily to go into exile, and to suffer adversity at his bidding to bear which He has strengthened our weakness [. . .]. He has given those that are unworthy the will to suffer for him.[56]

The type of heightened language used by John, which may now be considered to be that of cynical persuasion or propaganda, should not be considered as such in John's writings. Whilst he evidently sought to impress upon his correspondents the sacred nature of the cause for which the exiles fought and suffered, by employing the skills of rhetoric which he had studied, his heartfelt belief that the exiles acted as soldiers of Christ in increasing isolation against the apparent indifference of the bishops and churchmen of England, in a divinely inspired and aided struggle for justice and the Church's liberty, cannot be doubted.

The second of the two questions posed at the beginning now arises. How far did John conceive of Becket's exile in terms of the exiles of his predecessors, particularly Saint Anselm? Commentators writing on Thomas Becket's exile have noticed the parallels which may be drawn between his exile and that of Saint Anselm. Christopher Brooke in his introduction to the second volume of John's letters, for example, writes of the period leading up to Becket's exile that 'the comparison of Thomas's situation with Anselm's was growing uncomfortably close'.[57] Becket indeed followed in the footsteps of a distinguished line of archbishops to be exiled by the wrath of their king, which included Saint Dunstan, as well as Saint Anselm and Becket's immediate predecessor, Theobald. John, as we have seen, had served under Theobald and was present with him at the Council of Reims. His composition of a revised *Life* of Anselm was written at Becket's request in 1163 to promote the case for Anselm's canonization at the Council of Tours.

It may be that a pattern was emerging of what the ideal behaviour of an archbishop in exile should be. There are similarities, for example, between two passages of prose which each describe an Archbishop of Canterbury in exile pleading with the pope not to excommunicate the king who had so maltreated them. One is by Eadmer about Saint Anselm in his *Historia Novorum*, and the other by John about Theobald in his *Historia Pontificalis*. Eadmer narrates the scene of Pope Urban's preparations for the excommunication of William II, when,

> Hearing this, Anselm immediately rose up and falling on his knees before the Pope, who was ready then and there to excommunicate King William, he with difficulty prevailed upon him not to put into effect against the King the sentence which had been unanimously pronounced. So those who before had only learned by hearsay of

[56] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, II, no. 168.

[57] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, II, Introduction, p. xxii.

> Anselm's goodness had the joy of themselves experiencing it in actual deed, seeing him return good for evil and with prayer unfeigned intercede for his persecutor; and they were all filled with admiration of the man.[58]

There are definite echoes of this, both in terms of content and tone, in John's later account of Theobald at the Council of Reims pleading for mercy for Stephen:

> On the last day of the council the pope rose to excommunicate the king for the reasons I have given. The candles had been lighted [. . .] when my lord of Canterbury most movingly begged for mercy; and he was the only one of them all, as the pope himself has openly avowed, who could gain a hearing. Dumbfounded, not to say thunderstruck, by the boundless charity of this man, the pope at first meditated in silence and then, sighing, spoke as follows: 'My brethren, behold this man who enacts the gospel in our own time by loving his enemies and never ceasing to pray for his persecutors.'[59]

As we know that John had read Eadmer's work it may be that he was influenced in his account of the scene between Theobald and Pope Eugenius III (1145–53) by Eadmer's account of Anselm and Pope Urban II (1088–99). The establishment of a recognized precedent, even the beginnings of a pattern, in the reaction of a churchman exiled for his principles and faith can be seen too in the phraseology of John's letters. These often parallel similar themes and expressions in the letters of Saint Anselm, which were held in the Canterbury library and were therefore accessible to John. In the same way that Anselm writes of 'the freedom of the Church of God, for which I am an exile',[60] so John frequently, as in a letter to Guy, bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne, writes of 'an exile for God and the freedom of the Church'.[61]

John refers to Saint Anselm in three of his letters, in one of which he directly compares Becket's exile to that of Saint Anselm, when he exhorts the monks of Canterbury to be the first to meet their Archbishop on his return from exile:

> And so do you prepare to meet your father [. .] in the *Historia Novorum* I have found that your predecessors were the first to meet their father Anselm when he returned from exile: will there be such a falling off that you will have no comfort [. . .] to give your father and brothers on their return? Heaven forbid that an example so vile, so cruel, so contrary to true devotion and discipline should be passed on by the present to the future by the see of Canterbury, the primal see of Britain.[62]

The example of Anselm's exile must then have been before John. Perhaps one reason why he does not use the comparison more often is that prior to the martyrdom a comparison may have highlighted Becket's deficiencies, as in the example of the passages of the former archbishops begging the pope not to excommunicate the king.

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[58] Eadmer, *Eadmer's History of Recent Events*, p. 111.

[59] John of Salisbury, *Historia Pontificalis*, p. 7.

[60] Saint Anselm of Bec, *The Letters of Saint Anselm*, III, no. 339.

[61] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, II, no. 141.

[62] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, II, no. 303.

John repeatedly advised Becket not to excommunicate Henry, possibly with these examples in mind, and Becket ignored this advice, only not carrying out his threat to do so at Vézelay because he heard that the King was ill.[63] If theirs was the model of perfect behaviour in the circumstance, Becket's was not. Conversely, another reason may be found in a letter to Bishop Bartholomew in 1169. It deals with the precedent of an Archbishop of Canterbury agreeing to observe the customs of the realm: that issue which had been at the centre of the conflict between Becket and Henry. In it, he tells how Becket had said that 'none of his predecessors had been compelled or driven to make profession to customs, save only Saint Anselm, who went into exile for seven years in the same cause'.[64] He then goes on to say that

> in evil deeds it is not right to imitate our fathers, who grieved that they had erred, in matters in which they would not wish their successors or contemporaries to imitate them [. . .] for the sins of our elders have been written down to forewarn us, not to induce in their successors the need to imitate them.[65]

Here, then, an analogy of Becket with Anselm would make uncomfortable reading for Becket's supporters, given Becket's one-time capitulation to Henry's demands that he agree to observe these same customs.

Although Theobald is referred to only about five times in the 196 of John's surviving letters written after Theobald's death, none refer to his exile or attempt to draw parallels between his exile and that of either John or Becket. Yet Theobald, like Anselm, John, and Becket, was exiled for the cause of the liberty of the Church, having acceded to the Pope's request that he attend the Council of Reims regardless of King Stephen's prohibition, secretly and at some danger to himself in a vessel barely seaworthy. It may be supposed that John should seek to further Thomas's cause when seeking support in England by drawing parallels with Theobald. However, the comparison could have proved an unsatisfactory one. The letters of Theobald's later years show that his championship of the papal cause had not won him great favour with the papal curia, nor yet assured the freedom of the English Church from royal jurisdiction. He had even been criticized by Pope Adrian for aiding the King in preventing appeals to Rome. He was forced to use his past exiles as almost a bargaining counter, as 'proofs of our obedience ready to hand', to try and win back the favour of the Pope and the cardinals.[66] In a letter to Cardinal Roland (later Pope Alexander III (1159–81)), John writes on Theobald's behalf that

> My record stands as proof of my intentions. It is now the third time that I have exposed myself to peril, nay even to death on behalf of the Apostolic mandates [. . .]. I say this because I hear that certain of my lords the cardinals cherish feelings against me which

[63] See for example *Letters of John of Salisbury*, II, no. 176.

[64] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, II, no. 288.

[65] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, II, no. 288.

[66] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, I, no. 7.

> would do no good either to myself or to my church; and my conscience tells me I have done nothing to deserve them.[67]

Theobald felt that his devotion to the papacy, which caused his exiles, should have earned him respect and favour in Rome, and yet they had not; perhaps this was not the most suitable precedent for John to draw attention to.

Furthermore, John seems to have felt that Theobald's sufferings in exile were not comparable with Becket's. In the *Historia Pontificalis* he draws a comparison between the treatment by Stephen of the exiled Archbishop's followers and that which Henry II accorded to the followers of Archbishop Thomas:

> His property had been seized and he had been proscribed a second time for obedience to the papacy [. . .]. But on neither occasion, though he numbered the king and his counsellors amongst his bitterest enemies, was one of the archbishop's friends or supporters proscribed or driven into exile.[68]

By contrast, John describes in a later letter how Henry in 1164 'proscribed the innocent without consideration of order, profession, age and sex', leaving the exiled Archbishop with no means of supporting them.[69]

In one letter, to Theobald's brother, Bishop Walter of Rochester, John uses the memory of the late Archbishop to try and persuade Walter to support the exiles, movingly describing how the dying Theobald had given John his blessing, to which John attributed 'the successes I have enjoyed in exile and proscription'.[70] The persuasive power which John hoped this letter to Bishop Walter would have would have been unlikely to have the same effect on the other bishops, and so John does not again cite Theobald's exiles as support for Thomas's case. Other means had to be found to encourage the other bishops. Musing on how to gain the Bishop of Hereford's support, for example, John wrote:

> When he taught in the schools he was as avid for praise and devoted to glory, as, to all appearance, he despised money. And so it is reckoned that nothing could move him more than if masters of the schools and men of religion — such as the prior of Saint-Victor and the like who were his friends in France — should rouse him from his lethargy by letter [. . .] they can stir him to show himself the kind of bishop he used to portray in the schools, to cast off the sins he used to condemn in others, and so redeem his lost reputation. For the bishop of Worcester the same advice is given.[71]

It is then rather to biblical exemplars and precedents that John prefers to turn, to emphasize the spiritually exalted nature of the cause for which they fought, and to

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[67] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, I, no. 9.

[68] John of Salisbury, *Historia Pontificalis*, p. 42.

[69] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, II, no. 187.

[70] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, II, no. 257.

[71] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, II, no. 175.

persuade others of the rectitude of this cause. Although he was aware that, like martyrdom, it was not the punishment which they underwent but the cause that led him to claim this status for the exiles, still the nature of the punishment lent a special sanctity to their sufferings. It enabled him to claim as their forebears the saints and martyrs, prophets and apostles, leading John to call the exiles 'the scattered children of Israel'.[72]

John's approach to exile, then, is multifaceted. He was desperate to be free from the sentence, yet refused to renounce obedience to his Archbishop and worked vigorously on his behalf. In his writing he was able to select precedents and parallels to the situation of the exiles in a way that would be most likely to gain supporters for them, and to employ his great skill as a writer to the best advantage when discussing exile. Yet this is not to imply calculation in its worst sense, but rather to emphasize the fervour with which he embraced the cause for which he had been prepared to suffer for at least fifteen years. A noticeable increase in warmth of tone as the years advance show someone increasingly willing to fight for the Church's liberty, to suffer exile, and to understand in it God's guiding hand leading them in a continuation of the struggle which in recent times had been undertaken by Saint Anselm and even in the Old Testament era by David — thus placing those exiled with Becket in their place in the unfolding of the divine plan as it reveals itself to mankind.

[72] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, II, no. 203.

Exile and Peace: Saint Arnulf of Oudenburg, Bishop of Soissons (d. 1087)

RENÉE NIP

In the *Life of St Arnulf of Oudenburg, Bishop of Soissons*, written in the early twelfth century, we find different concepts of exile. They vary from exile in a religious sense on the one hand to exile in a political and juridical sense on the other. According to his *Life*, exile featured prominently. Often Saint Arnulf acted as an intermediary on behalf of victims of exile, but his own life was also marked by it. His hagiographers, however, did not present exile as a central theme in his holiness. In contrast, they presented the saint foremost as a champion peacemaker. Several modern scholars have taken stories from Saint Arnulf's *Life* to support their discourse about the so-called Peace movement in the eleventh century in northern France and Flanders. They focused on its development and the role of clergy and laity. They discussed the savagery of the Flemings and the incapacity of the Flemish count to exercise control. They saw in Saint Arnulf a stranger 'par excellence', who, familiar with the circumstances, yet an outsider, could interfere successfully.[1] Surely there was more to it, and I shall argue in this essay that Saint Arnulf was pre-eminently successful as a peacemaker because he was considered an outsider who lived almost his whole life in exile.

[1] H. Hoffmann, *Gottesfriede und Treuga Dei*, Schriften der MGH, 20 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1964), pp. 148–50; H. Platelle, 'La Violence et ses remèdes en Flandre au XI^e^ siècle', *Sacris Erudiri*, 20 (1971), 101–73; Mayke de Jong, 'Monniken, ridders en geweld in elfde-eeuws Vlaanderen', *Sociologische Gids*, 29 (1982), 279–95; Geoffrey Kozol, 'Monks, Feuds, and the Making of Peace in Eleventh-Century Flanders', in *The Peace of God; Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000*, ed. by Thomas Head and Richard Landes (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992), pp. 239–58; Dominique Barthélemy, 'Exorciser les démons de la vengeance, en Flandre autour de 1100', in *Au cloître et dans le monde: Femmes, hommes, sociétés (IX^e^–XV^e^ siècles). Mélanges en l'honneur de Paulette L. Leclercq*, ed. by P. Henriet and A. M. Legras (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2000), pp. 269–80.

The Saint and his Lives

Who was this Saint Arnulf? As we shall see, he was born about 1048 in Flanders. According to his *Life*, the only source available, he broke off a successful military career suddenly to become a monk in the abbey of St-Médard near Soissons.[2] A few years later, this monastic community chose him as their abbot, but the French king, Philip I, forced him to resign and then he became a hermit. When in 1080 Bishop Theobald of Soissons died, Saint Arnulf was chosen as his successor, but the royal candidate for the see prevented him from taking up his position. Concluding that it was not the see that made the bishop, but the bishop who made the see, Saint Arnulf took up his residence at the castle of Count Theobald I of Champagne in Oulchy. Some years later, Pope Gregory VII (1073–85) commissioned him to go to Flanders to accomplish a reconciliation between the Flemish count, Robert the Frisian (1071–93), and his adversaries. Afterwards, Saint Arnulf traveled around in the coastal area of Flanders, preaching peace and performing miracles to lend force to this. Through Bishop Radbod of Tournai the inhabitants of Oudenburg transferred the parish church to the holy man in gratitude for the benefit of the foundation of a monastery. There Saint Arnulf died in 1087.

We may assume that a man of flesh and blood has served as a model for Lisiard, the later bishop of Soissons (1108–26), who, only a few years after Saint Arnulf's death, started to write the saint's *Life*.[3] He claimed to have known the saint personally and, to amplify his own knowledge, had interviewed Saint Arnulf's family and his faithful companion, Everolf (LVI). Much of the information which he gave was still verifiable. Already in 1114, Hariulf, third abbot of the monastery of Oudenburg (1105–43), who was a more experienced hagiographer, had completed a revision in two books of Lisiard's work. The changes concerned mainly the disposition and style, while the information itself was not fundamentally altered. In close cooperation, the two hagiographers then composed a third book, which contained posthumous miracles, for Saint Arnulf's canonization, which was achieved in 1121. Shortly afterwards, Hariulf wrote a summary of Saint Arnulf's *Life*, which, as we shall see, contains strikingly new information about Saint Arnulf's family background.[4]

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[2] See, for a reconstruction and the dating of the events, Renée Nip, *Arnulfus van Oudenburg, bisschop van Soissons (†1087)* (Louvain-la-Neuve: La Fondation Encyclopédie Bénédictine; Turnhout: Brepols 2004), pp. 82–87.

[3] *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1898–1901) (hereafter BHL), 703: Lisiardus, *Vita Sancti Arnulphi*, ed. by Nip, *Arnulfus van Oudenburg*, pp. 317–46; references to the chapter numbers of this edition will be given in the text in Roman numerals between brackets.

[4] BHL 704: Hariulfus, *Vita Sancti Arnulfi Episcopi Suessionensi*, ed. by Jean Mabillon, *AASS, Ordinis Sancti Benedicti* (Paris, 1702), 16 August, VI.2, 507–55 and 555–57, the epitome (BHL 705); references to the Book and chapter numbers of this edition of the *Life* will be given in the text in Roman numerals for the Book and in Arabic numerals for the chapters between brackets. For example, (II; I.4) indicates Lisiard's *Life* chapter II and Hariulf's *Life*

The *Life* is intriguing because of the glimpses of historical reality which can be spotted. Of course, the hagiographers pictured events in different colours than a chronicler would have done. Besides, we may wonder to what extent the *Life* reflects the time which it described or the time in which it was written. Still, now and then, we can catch a glimpse of the real man behind the saint. Those who are more interested in the past than in sainthood find the *Life* rather puzzling. However, by viewing the story from a historical perspective we can find some answers. Thus I intend to explore Saint Arnulf's *Life*, concentrating on the events that relate to forms of exile. The main issues will be Saint Arnulf's conversion as monk, his failing ecclesiastical career, his diplomatic mission to Flanders, and the roles played by the French king Philip I (1060–1108) and the Flemish count Robert the Frisian. The role of Saint Arnulf's two hagiographers in the formation of the image of the saint as a peacemaker will also receive attention.

Saint Arnulf's Exile from the Secular World

When one reads the *Life*, the first questions which occur are why Saint Arnulf chose to become a monk and live as an exile from the secular world, and why he preferred to enter the abbey of St-Médard in northern France. According to his hagiographers, miraculous signs even before his birth had shown that he was destined to become a saint (I; I.1–3). Therefore his parents wanted him to study and pursue a clerical career. However, his godfather, Arnulf, lord of Audenarde, a blood relative of his father, and other members of the family put pressure on him to become instead a knight in Lord Arnulf's retinue and so it happened (II; I.4). One day Saint Arnulf decided that this was a waste of time and he left under false pretences (V; I.5). What precipitated his change of mind? One could argue that his father's death, mentioned in the *Life*, had freed the way. However, not his father, but his godfather, about whom we hear nothing more, had been the main impediment. There certainly always have been and will be people who, driven by religious ardour and longing for God, reject the world, but vocation is a rather modern concept and in the Middle Ages most people had not much choice and could only make the best of the opportunities offered. Therefore, we have to look at the circumstances of Saint Arnulf's exile from the world.

Elsewhere I have tried to reconstruct the chronology of Saint Arnulf's life. I argued that he was born about 1048 and entered the monastery not later than *c*. 1071.[5] If this is correct, the political situation in Flanders might well have influenced his decision. After the death of Baldwin VI, count of Flanders and Hainaut (17 July 1070), his brother, Robert the Frisian, defeated at the battle of Cassel (22 February 1071) Baldwin VI's son Arnulf and widow Richildis of Hainaut (d. 1086), who were

Book I chapter 4. For the origin and the mutual relationship of the two versions, see Nip, *Arnulfus van Oudenburg*, pp. 51–66.

[5] Nip, *Arnulfus van Oudenburg*, pp. 82–87.

supported by their suzerain, King Philip I of France. Very soon Robert and Philip reached a settlement: Robert became the new Count of Flanders, while the King took Robert's stepdaughter Bertha as his wife. At first, Richildis and her other son, Baldwin, took refuge with King Henry IV of Germany (1056–1106), who indeed started to recruit an army, but gave up further action after the settlement between King Philip and Count Robert I the Frisian. Baldwin received the county of Hainaut.[6]

Contemporary sources mention the events only briefly. Later sources are more extensive, but highly conditioned by the opinion of whether Robert the Frisian had acted rightfully or was just a usurper. For in the twelfth century this discussion was again of current interest because of the disasters which befell the Counts of Flanders and Hainaut, especially the murder of the Flemish count, Charles the Good, in 1127. Galbert of Bruges, for instance, considered it as God's vengeance for Robert's victory at Cassel.[7] Others thought that Robert had done the right thing and they blamed Baldwin VI for all misery, because his marriage with Richildis was said to have been illegal. The *Flandria generosa* (*c*. 1160), which sided with Robert the Frisian, mentions the parties which were involved in the struggle over the county.[8] According to this text, Robert the Frisian had met with the greatest resistance in the southern part of the county, while his supporters could be found in the north with the exception of the lords of Audenarde, who had fought on Richildis's side. The lords of Audenarde had their power base east of the river Scheldt, within the territories which the Flemish count held in liege of the German king.

We do not know what happened to Robert the Frisian's adversaries after the Count's victory at Cassel and his peace settlement with the French king. Were they killed or exiled with their possessions confiscated? Or could their overlord, King Philip I, provide some protection? A fourteenth-century version of the *Flandria generosa* suggests that goods of the lords of Audenarde were indeed confiscated. According to this text Robert the Frisian granted Richildis Audenarde with its castle and lands as dower. This is remarkable, because it was allodial property of the lords of Audenarde.[9] More significantly, for a while we hear nothing from the lords of

[6] Charles Verlinden, *Robert I^er^ le Frison, comte de Flandre* (Antwerp: De Sikkel; Paris: Edouard Champion; The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1935), pp. 51–72; Nip, *Arnulfus van Oudenburg*, pp. 119–33.

[7] Walter Mohr, 'Richilde vom Hennegau und Robert der Friese : Thesen zu einer Neubewertung der Quellen', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 58 (1980), 777–96, and 59 (1981), 265–91; Galbert of Bruges, *De multro, traditione, et occisione gloriosi Karole comitis Flandriarum*, ed. by Jeff Rider, in CCCM, 131 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1994), pp. 120–22, ch. 69; *Galbert of Bruges: The Murder of Charles the Good, Count of Flanders*, trans. by J. B. Ross (New York: Harper & Row, 1967), pp. 233–38.

[8] *Flandria generosa*, ed. by L. C. Bethmann, in MGH SS, 9 (Hannover: Hahn, 1851; repr. Stuttgart, 1968), pp. 313–25 (p. 322).

[9] *Flandria generosa*, ed. by J. J. De Smet, *Recueil de Chroniques de Flandre* (Brussels: Commission Royale d'Histoire, 1837), I, 65; Nip, *Arnulfus van Oudenburg*, pp. 88–93.

Audenarde, which is surprising because under the earlier counts they had always occupied an eminent position. Arnulf, lord of Audenarde, Saint Arnulf's godfather, was last mentioned in 1065, while earliest reference to the next lord of Audenarde, Arnulf Junior, dates to 1095/96.[10] By then, Robert the Frisian and Richildis both were dead. It is against this political background, I suggest, that we must place Saint Arnulf's change of heart in order to become an exile from the world. It seems very likely that he was forced to end his military career and leave the county because Robert the Frisian had him expelled, threatened with permanent exile or even worse. King Philip I most probably gave him shelter by allowing him to enter the royal abbey of St-Médard. One would expect that, if Saint Arnulf had been free to go where he wanted, he would have gone to members of his maternal family, which were, according to his *Life*, the Duke of Louvain, the Count of Namur, or the Count of Looz, Duras, and Mons (II; I.4). If all he had wanted was to become a monk, there would have been more obvious monasteries east of the Scheldt, for example the monastery of Ename, where the lord of Audenarde held the advocacy.[11] Yet, instead, he was probably forced into exile into northern France.

Exile from the Monastery

Saint Arnulf was not the only exile and monk in St-Médard of Flemish origin; there were also other potential fellow exiles like his companion Everolf (XXVI–XXVII; II.1–2), and the hermit Erembold (VII; I.7), who inspired the saint to become a hermit himself. After Saint Arnulf's death, his nephew, also named Arnulf, a son of Saint Arnulf's sister and future first abbot of Oudenburg (d. 1095), appeared to be a monk of St-Médard (III.3). However, Saint Arnulf's admission to St-Médard did not turn him into a favourite of King Philip I of France. In fact, the King may have considered him a real embarrassment. At least twice he had to deal with him because in his opinion Saint Arnulf infringed his rights, once when Saint Arnulf had become abbot of St-Médard (*c*. 1076) and later when he was chosen as Bishop of Soissons (*c*. 1081). At first sight these events seem to have been part of the struggle between the King and the Pope, the so-called Investiture Controversy. The King was not at all willing to countenance the ideas of Pope Gregory VII and the reformists about abandoning lay investiture and simony, so he clung to his rights to appoint abbots and bishops.

The question about the abbacy of St-Médard is very complicated. Saint Arnulf's hagiographers tell us that the monks of St-Médard, in consultation with Bishop Theobald of Soissons, expelled Abbot Pons, who had been appointed by King Philip I, because of mismanagement. Instead, the monks chose Saint Arnulf with the King's approval (IX; I.9). Later, though, Saint Arnulf was forced by the King to

[10] E. Warlop, *The Flemish Nobility before 1300*, 2 vols (Courtrai: G. Desmet-Huysman, 1976), II.2, 1031–36, no. 164; the relationship between the two is not clear.

[11] Warlop, *The Flemish Nobility,* II.2, 1035–37.

resign and took up his hermit's life. What had happened? One of the saint's adversaries, the monk Odo, succeeded in convincing King Philip I to order the Abbot to accompany him on a military campaign. However, because Saint Arnulf had sworn never to bear arms again when he became a monk, he naturally protested. Consequently, the King put him on the spot by ordering him to obey or else to renounce the abbacy. Of course, the holy man decided to resign after he made the monks agree to choose as his successor the pious Gerald, who would later, together with the Duke of Aquitaine, found the abbey of Sauve-Majeur near Bordeaux (XVII; I.16–17).

It is interesting that Philip I did not throw out Saint Arnulf, but only asked him to perform his duty as the abbot of a royal abbey, or else to suffer the consequences of his refusal. Therefore, at this stage in his life, Saint Arnulf chose freely to go and live in exile, and he did it heartily, if we can believe his *Life*. Nor did the King interfere in the Abbot's succession. The two hagiographers did not blame King Philip I himself, but said that bad advisers had misled him. They pictured Saint Arnulf's reaction differently. Lisiard described in lively detail the saint's furious indignation about the King's summons, and his firm refusal (XVII). The tone of Hariulf's description was more moderate. He shifted the accent from the saint's fury to his need to be obedient. Appealing to the Bible, Saint Arnulf humbly refused, because he could not reconcile military service with his conscience (I.16). Of course, this was more suitable to a saint, but it also made clear that Saint Arnulf's confrontation with King Philip I was not the most important issue. The biggest clash was still to come and happened between the saint and King Philip's wife, Queen Bertha. According to the *Life*, the Queen tried to expel Saint Arnulf's successor, Abbot Gerald, and reinstate by force of arms the bad Pons to the abbacy. In fury Saint Arnulf left his hermitage to predict that, in turn, Queen Bertha herself would be expelled by her husband the King and would live in misery until her death as an exile outside the kingdom — and so it happened (XVIII; I.17). Thus, in the end the Queen, not the King, was the instigator of harm. Why was she brought into the story? It can only be explained if we accept the hypothesis, suggested above, that Saint Arnulf's residence in the abbey of St-Médard was the result of his relationship with the Queen's father, Robert the Frisian, count of Flanders. This situation also explains the complicated trick devised by the saint's adversaries and Saint Arnulf's bitter anger, as described by Lisiard, about King Philip's summons. If, indeed, Saint Arnulf had been banished from Flanders, it undoubtedly had been part of the deal that he would abstain from any military service, something the King would have known and exploited.

According to his *Life*, a few years later, in 1081, Saint Arnulf was chosen as Bishop of Soissons at the Council of Meaux, organized and presided over by the papal legate, Hugh of Die, with the support of Theobald I, count of Champagne. Even though Saint Arnulf had the support of Hugh, abbot of Cluny, his election was overruled by the royal candidate, Ursio. Saint Arnulf travelled to Die to be consecrated by Bishop Hugh (19 December 1081) but, when he returned, his opponent Ursio and his armed companions threatened to attack him and thus prevented him from entering the town of Soissons. Saint Arnulf feigned a counter-attack, but then

quickly turned around and headed, as we have mentioned above, for Theobald's castle in Oulchy (Diocese of Soissons) to fulfil his episcopal duties as a bishop in exile (XXVI–XXXI; II.1–7).

The Exile as Papal Negotiator in the Thérouanne Crisis

Shortly after this incident, Pope Gregory VII sent letters and bulls to Saint Arnulf asking him to intervene between Count Robert the Frisian and his opponents in the diocese of Thérouanne, in the south-west of Flanders, and to pacify Count Robert. Other sources confirm that the Flemish count had to deal with much commotion in the entire western part of Flanders in the years 1081–84. Saint Arnulf's hagiographers tell us that several powerful noblemen felt oppressed by the Count and therefore plotted to expel him and replace him with his nephew, Count Baldwin of Hainaut. When Robert found out, he put some of the traitors to death and outlawed others or banished them, depriving them of their goods and offices. Among them was another Arnulf, the archdeacon and provost of St-Omer, who fled to the Pope for support (XXXV; II.13).

Trouble in Thérouanne in these years is also known from other sources, although none of these mention the involvement of our Saint Arnulf. Galbert of Bruges, who did not favour Robert the Frisian, mentioned the rebellion and blamed the Count's mistrust of his former adversaries. Pope Gregory VII was heavily involved. His letters, however, do not refer to an uprising, but only to problems concerning the episcopal see of Thérouanne. What had happened? In 1078 the long and successful reign of Bishop Drogo (1030–78) had come to an end. His successor, Bishop Hubert (1078–81), who was consecrated thanks to the intervention of Count Robert the Frisian and Manasses, archbishop of Reims, found no papal approval and was confronted with so much resistance that, in 1081, he decided to resign. He was succeeded by Lambert of Bailleul (1081–84) with the support of the Flemish count. According to Pope Gregory VII this was a clear case of simony and therefore unacceptable. Robert the Frisian defended himself by saying that he only acted as a loyal vassal of Philip I of France, who claimed the right of appointment. The Pope incited all inhabitants, clerics and laymen, to expel Bishop Lambert, which resulted in much outrage to and fro. One of the Bishop's adversaries was, as we have seen, also mentioned in the *Life of St Arnulf*: Arnulf, archdeacon and provost of St-Omer. In 1084 the papal candidate for Thérouanne, Gerard, archdeacon of Cambrai, was chosen and Robert the Frisian seemed to have acquiesced.[12]

[12] H. van Werveke, *Het bisdom Terwaan van den oorsprong tot het begin der veertiende eeuw*, Receuil de travaux publiés par la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres, 52 (Gand: Van Rysselberghe & Rombaut; Paris: Champion, 1924), pp. 45–48; Eligius Dekkers, 'Sint Arnoud en Robrecht de Fries te Rijsel', *Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges*, 84 (1947), 52–71; Nip, *Arnulfus van Oudenburg*, pp. 215–22.

The papal letters, as well as the story told by Saint Arnulf's hagiographers and Galbert of Bruges, obviously gave us views of one and the same revolt, a battle between the Flemish count and his adversaries. It is understandable that Galbert of Bruges focused on the conspiracy against the Count, at the same time that Pope Gregory VII was mainly preoccupied with the see of Thérouanne. It is intriguing, however, that Saint Arnulf's hagiographers, Lisiard and Hariulf, both linked Saint Arnulf with the Pope and with Arnulf, the archdeacon and provost of St-Omer, but paid no attention to the conflict about the see. This is striking, especially because Saint Arnulf had twice been in the middle of such conflicts himself, earlier as Abbot of St-Médard and only recently as Bishop of Soissons. In both cases he had been the reformists' candidate and been forced to surrender to the royal opponent. The question of lay investiture and simony were therefore very much issues of current interest to him. However, his hagiographers were only interested in the uprising of the nobility and the ferocity of the Count. They record how Pope Gregory VII had already sent letters to Robert the Frisian, before asking Saint Arnulf to visit the Count; he had supposedly even tried to persuade others to intervene, but nobody had had the nerve to do it (XXXV; II.13). If indeed Saint Arnulf had been expelled from Flanders to the abbey of St-Médard on account of Count Robert the Frisian, he returned now, after about ten years, to plead for his former brothers-in-arms and exiles. It is thus not surprising that the Flemish count was unhappy with Saint Arnulf's intervention. Instead, if we believe the *Life*, he almost spit fire when he found the exiled rebels kneeling down at his feet while his former opponent, the exiled Saint Arnulf, asked him to pardon them. But what else could Robert the Frisian do? Saint Arnulf was now a cleric beyond the Count's authority, and as a bishop he had the authority to demand peace. Therefore, in deference to Rome and Saint Arnulf's holiness, Count Robert had to yield to him. It is interesting that Lisiard and Hariulf both seemed to have considered the issue of Count Robert's dealings with Saint Arnulf to be of far more importance than the episcopal see in Thérouanne and the reform movement.

The Exile as Peacemaker in Flanders

Following Hariulf's chronology in the *Life*, Saint Arnulf, at the invitation of the inhabitants of Flanders, came to bring peace to the north, travelling through the very coastal areas where his father's family had allodial possessions. Although nothing is said explicitly about it in Saint Arnulf's *Life*, we may assume that the hagiographers saw Saint Arnulf's activities as part of the so-called Peace movement. The Peace movement, which had started in the tenth century in the south of France and spread gradually to the north, was brought into Flanders in 1024 at the initiative of Count Baldwin IV (988–1035) and Bishop Gerald of Cambrai. In northern France it was mainly a concern of abbots and bishops, while in Flanders as indeed in Normandy, the Count and Duke took the initiative. In the end, they turned the ecclesiastical

peace into a comital or ducal peace and strengthened their own positions by means of a monopoly in the use of violence. Especially in the first half of the eleventh century, several councils were held to declare the peace and truce of God. A great number of relics was brought together, and the knights swore to maintain peace with regard to certain groups of the population (Peace of God) and during certain periods (Truce of God). Robert the Frisian's father, Count Baldwin V (1035–67), together with Bishop Drogo of Thérouanne had held just such a meeting in 1042/43, which Robert the Frisian's son, Robert II (1093–1111), replicated and extended in 1111. Between 1093 and 1119 several more councils of this kind were held again in northern France and Flanders.[13] Thus the Peace movement was very much a current issue during the period when Saint Arnulf's hagiographers, Lisiard and Hariulf, were writing (*c*. 1095–1120).

According to Saint Arnulf's *Life*, the coastal area of Flanders, where the holy Bishop visited Torhout, Oudenburg, Gistel, Veurne, and Bruges (XL–XLIV; II.15–19), had been devastated by feuds and other violence (XXXVI; II.14). For this reason he preached about the necessity of peace, and he confronted the fighters and begged them to refrain from all violence and to make peace. If they did not listen, God's wrath would strike them. Those who kept on being recalcitrant were possessed by demons or worse, and only Saint Arnulf was able to free them after they submitted to him and promised to improve their lives. The Flemish count, Robert the Frisian, hardly featured at all. Only once was he involved, when one of his men, called Long William, struck down his son's murderer in revenge at the annual fair in Torhout and, by doing so, broke the comital peace. Initially, Count Robert was furious, but when he heard what was at stake, he reacted mildly and took no further action. He clearly had jumped to the conclusion that Long William had acted out of ignorance and thus had received already his righteous punishment. In fact, Saint Arnulf had earlier brought about a reconciliation with the murderer of William's son. God had punished Long William for breaking the peace by making him look a fool. According to Saint Arnulf's hagiographers, the blow, which William dealt apparently as if he were a woman, left his son's murderer only with a red scratch in the neck (XLI; II.16).

Lisiard's version suggests that Saint Arnulf's peace ranked above the comital peace. The Count could defend his authority by force, but a subsequent peaceful settlement to prevent revenge was an ecclesiastical affair. Hariulf implied something else as well, namely that Count Robert the Frisian was useless because he was not capable of maintaining his own peace. Other scenes, too, suggest that peacemaking

[13] M. R. Bonnaud-Delamare, 'Les Institutions de Paix dans la Province Ecclésiastique de Reims au XI^e siècle', *Bulletin philologique et historique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*, 6 (1955), 143–200; E. I. Strubbe, 'La Paix de Dieu dans le Nord de la France', in *La Paix*, ed. by John Gilissen and others, Receuils de la Société Jean Bodin, 14.1 (Brussels: La Librairie Encyclopédique, 1961), pp. 491–501; H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'The Peace and the Truce of God in the Eleventh Century', *Past and Present*, 46 (1970), 42–67; see also note 1 above.

was first and foremost the task of saints and clerics assured of God's help. Even after his death, Saint Arnulf continued to act as a peacemaker, for instance in a feud in Beveland, one of the Zealand isles, which then formed part of Flanders. Another text, Saint Willibrord's *Life*, written *c*. 1103, described similar events further north and seems to confirm this idea. According to the author, Abbot Thiofrid of Echternach (1083–1110), Walcheren, another Zealand isle, was torn by feud. At the request of the inhabitants, Abbot Thiofrid intervened and brought about peace.[14] These events took place in the years 1083–84.[15] Thiofrid does not mention Saint Arnulf, nor do we find anything about the troubles in Walcheren in Saint Arnulf's *Life*. We must conclude that not only in Thérouanne, but in the whole western part of Flanders, disturbances were prevalent in the years *c*. 1081–84. It seems likely that these disturbances were related to the way in which Robert the Frisian had acquired the county and perhaps by his efforts to make his son Robert II his successor. Whatever it may have been, it is clear that Count Robert the Frisian was not fully in control and had to give way to those who possessed the power of the authority of an ecclesiastical office. The Flemish count must have found it harsh that Saint Arnulf, a man whom he once had defeated and sent into exile, now exploited his position and, as an exile, intervened in order to bring peace.

In 1084, apparently, peace was restored in the county of Flanders, and from that time Count Robert the Frisian seemed to have been in firm control. As I have argued elsewhere, we must understand the canonization of Saint Godelieve of Gistel (d. 1070), on 30 July 1084, as part of Count Robert the Frisian's efforts to consolidate his power in Flanders, especially in the south-western territories.[16] Saint Godelieve was a daughter of a knight in the retinue of Count Eustace of Boulogne, who was one of the main rivals of the Flemish count.[17] She was married to Bertulf of Gistel, who maltreated her and, in the end, allowed her to be killed. Bishop Radbod of Noyon and Tournai performed the elevation and translation of her remains in the presence of the Flemish countess Gertrude of Saxony and of many noblemen and prelates.

[14] Thiofrid of Echternach, *Vita S. Willibrordi*, ed. by L. Weiland, MGH SS, 23 (Hannover: Hahn, 1874; repr. Stuttgart, 1963), pp. 23–30 (pp. 28–30).

[15] Thiofrid of Echternach, *Vita S. Willibrordi*, pp. 27–28. The events cannot be linked directly to Robert the Frisian as Verlinden did. He referred to Thiofrid's account of an invasion of Robert the Frisian in Walcheren, which in fact took place on an earlier date, many years before Robert became Count of Flanders: Verlinden, *Robert I^er^ Le Frison*, pp. 30–36; cf. J. Huizinga, 'Burg en kerspel in Walcheren', in his *Verspreide Geschriften*, vol. I (Haarlem: Tjeenk Wilink & Zoon, 1948), pp. 526–53 (pp. 546–50); J. Huizinga, 'Scaldemariland', in his *Verspreide Geschriften*, I, 554–69 (pp. 554–61); E. Van Houts, 'Hereward and Flanders', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 28 (1999), 201–33 (pp. 206–09).

[16] Renée Nip, 'The Canonization of Godelieve of Gistel', *Hagiographica*, 2 (1995), 145–55.

[17] Drogo van Sint-Winoksbergen, *Vita Godeliph*, ed. by Nicolaas N. Huyghebaert, trans. by Stefaan Gyselen (Tielt, Bussum: Lannoo, 1982), pp. 34–71; *Vita altera Godelevae*, ed. by J. Sollier, *AASS*, 3rd edn (Paris, 1867), 6 July, pp. 414–36.

The glorious ceremony took place in Gistel on the boundary between the diocese of Noyon and Tournai and that of Thérouanne. In Saint Godelieve's *Life*, which Drogo, monk of St Winoksbergen, wrote for the occasion, Count Robert's authority, as well as the Bishop's, was much emphasized and it was made very clear that Count Eustace II of Boulogne and his men were subjected to the Count of Flanders.

Even though Saint Godelieve's *Life* is about peace, Saint Arnulf is not mentioned in it. However, it is perhaps more surprising that neither Saint Godelieve nor her canonization are mentioned in Saint Arnulf's *Life*, especially because the holy man had been in the area quite recently. According to the foundation act of the abbey of Oudenburg on 3 March 1084, Bishop Radbod had handed over to Saint Arnulf the church of Oudenburg, only a few miles from Gistel where, since her death, Saint Godelieve was supposedly much venerated.[18] Moreover, Hariulf's summary of Saint Arnulf's *Life*, already mentioned, adds that Saint Arnulf's father, Fulbert, was a cousin of Saint Godelieve.[19] The explanation might be that the hagiographers were not at first much interested in Saint Godelieve because of her connection to Count Robert the Frisian and his party. Perhaps later on the memory of this had faded away and had made way for the desire to relate Saint Arnulf to another, already popular, Flemish saint. Alternatively, did Hariulf focus on their kinship because of her origin from Boulogne? By linking Saint Arnulf to Saint Godelieve Hariulf emphasized the bonds between Saint Arnulf and his former brothers-in-arms and fellow exiles, the noblemen in the south-west of the county. In 1071 Robert the Frisian had beaten them all, but, about ten years later, thanks to Saint Arnulf, the exiled peacemaker, another defeat was averted.

Saint Arnulf did not remain in Oudenburg. After he had made a start in building the monastery, he returned to his diocese in France. There he concluded that he was not after all able to perform his episcopal duties, because of the obstruction which he experienced from King Philip I. Disappointed he decided not to return to the castle of Oulchy of Count Theobald I of Champagne, but to resume his hermit's life (XLIX; II.26). Ultimately, the exile returned in 1087 to Oudenburg only to die. Perhaps he did so by exploiting the absence of Count Robert the Frisian, who by then had left Flanders to go on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, leaving his son Robert II in charge. If so, he did not enjoy his return for long, for he died in the same year after a long exile from home.

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[18] Bruges, Rijksarchief, blauwe charters, no. 6637. The charter was a forgery probably made by Hariulf himself: Renée Nip, 'The Dispute of Hariulf', in *Media Latinitas: A Collection of Essays to Mark the Occasion of the Retirement of L. J. Engels*, ed. by R. I. A. Nip and others, Instrumenta Patristica, 28 (Steenbrugge: St-Pietersabdij; Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), pp. 275–80.

[19] BHL 705: *AASS Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, ed. by Mabillon, 16 August, VI.2, 555–57 (p. 555).

Exile and Peacemaking

Finally, there remains the question of why the hagiographers, Lisiard, bishop of Soissons, author of the oldest version of Saint Arnulf's *Life*, and Hariulf, third abbot of Oudenburg, the reviser, were so much interested in this holy peacemaker. What was their share in forming the image of the saint? Of course, Lisiard might have acted from genuine admiration for the man he had known so well, while Hariulf may have wished to enlarge the prestige of the abbey of Oudenburg by means of a saintly founder. In the light of the moderate and rather conventional attitude towards lay investiture, which caught on in France after Bishop Yvo of Chartres (1090–1115/16), it is understandable that the Investiture Controversy was not Lisiard's main preoccupation. He himself belonged to the leading nobility, from which the French king used to recruit his bishops. Lisiard's picture of Saint Arnulf as a peacemaker certainly was not confined to Saint Arnulf's interference in Flanders. Even as a knight Saint Arnulf was pictured as preferring to use his eloquence to his strength and arms. Neither as an abbot nor as a bishop could his adversaries seduce him to use violence. Instead all his deeds were intended to achieve and secure peace. Hariulf did not alter Lisiard's portrait of Saint Arnulf in this respect.

We may assume that Hariulf's revision of Lisiard's *Life* was meant to underline even more the saintliness of his protagonist and so ensure the achievement of his canonization. Therefore, it is interesting to take a look at the changes which he made. It is not surprising that, apart from providing further particulars and hagiographical and stylistic embellishment, the most striking changes concern Flanders and the monastery of Oudenburg. The Flemish were never so bloodthirsty and Count Robert the Frisian never so ferocious in Lisiard's version of the *Life* as in Hariulf's. Of course, by emphasizing the contrast, Arnulf's holiness was shown even more to full advantage, but Hariulf was undoubtedly influenced by his own background. Firstly, he came from northern France, where Count Baldwin's widow, Richildis, and her sons had found support against Robert the Frisian. At the time of the battle of Cassel in 1071, Hariulf had been about ten years old and was already an oblate at the abbey of St Requier in Ponthieu. Therefore, he must have known at first hand about the hostilities and the consequences for the defeated of Robert the Frisian's victory.

Furthermore, during Hariulf's long life in Flanders, violence never seemed to end. When Hariulf became in 1105 Abbot of Oudenburg, he immediately became involved in the ongoing conflict about the episcopal see of the double diocese of Noyon and Tournai. After Count Robert II, one of the heroes of the first crusade, died in 1111, things only got worse. The Count's son and successor, Baldwin VII, had trouble enough in establishing his authority and in 1113 even faced a revolt by his mother, Clemence. He died childless in 1119, leaving the county to his Danish cousin, Charles the Good, like him a grandson of Robert the Frisian. Although Baldwin VII had appointed Charles himself, Charles the Good had to deal with other pretenders and, in the end, was murdered in 1127, causing a struggle for succession to break out. The main issue in those years, as I have already said, was the legitimacy of the

means by which Robert the Frisian had taken possession of the county of Flanders in 1071. After the murder of Charles the Good, the hagiographer unambiguously expressed his disapproval of Robert the Frisian. In the subsequent war he, like the French king Louis VI (1108–37) chose the side of William Clito, grandson of Robert the Frisian's sister Matilda and William the Conqueror, against Thierry of Alsace, grandson of Robert the Frisian. According to Galbert of Bruges, William Clito and his men found accommodation in the abbey of Oudenburg, supposedly founded by Saint Arnulf, where they prepared themselves for the fight.[20] Of course, this was some years after Saint Arnulf's canonization, but Hariulf's version of Saint Arnulf's *Life* already reflected his disapproval of Count Robert the Frisian. Lisiard and Hariulf took great pains to attain the canonization of Saint Arnulf, which at last, on 1 May 1121, Bishop Lambert of Noyon and Tournai performed in Oudenburg.

Conclusion

Saint Arnulf lived most of his life in exile. In the saint's *Life*, of course, exile is a complex notion. From a Benedictine point of view, by becoming a monk Saint Arnulf chose to leave the world, becoming an exile and poor (*exsul et pauper*). But Saint Arnulf was in fact a double exile, for he was banished as a religious man, too. The impossibility of fulfilling his functions, which he held in accordance with canon law, also made him an exile in a juridical sense. The hagiographers have emphasized that the saint wished foremost to avoid violence and maintain peace, and therefore voluntarily gave up his offices. According to them, Saint Arnulf only had taken up these functions out of obedience to God, not because he aspired to them. His reward was that, banished from these, he freely could resume the hermit's life which he greatly preferred, and proceed on the road to sainthood. However, as I have argued, in reality he had no choice and was forced to resign, if not by Robert the Frisian, than indeed by the Count's stepdaughter Queen Bertha and her husband, King Philip I of France. I have also argued that it is very likely that it all started in 1071, when Robert the Frisian expelled Saint Arnulf from Flanders as a result of the Count's victory in Cassel and made him an exile in a political sense. As an exile, in a religious, political, and juridical sense, he became an effective mediator and peacemaker. As a cleric, the saint was no longer under the Count's control, and was he not therefore more suitable in pleading the cause of the defeated rebels, his former combatants and fellow exiles, before Robert the Frisian and able to put the Count under

[20] Galbert of Bruges, *De multro*, ch. 114, ed. by Rider, p. 159; trans. by Ross, p. 297. See for the foundation of the abbey of Oudenburg, Nip, 'The Dispute', pp. 275–80; Nip, *Arnulfus van Oudenburg*, pp. 235–42. Brigitte Meyns, 'De oprichting van de Sint-Pietersabdij te Oudenburg (*c.* 1090) een omstreden gebeurtenis?', in *Kloosterwezen in West-Vlaanderen: Bronnen en Geschiedenis*, ed. by M. Nuyttens (Brussels: Archives Générales du Royaume, 2003), pp. 17–35.

pressure with papal support? Lisiard and, especially, Hariulf, however, made it clear that the saint was the true winner. Thanks to Arnulf's episcopal and holy authority the Count was forced to submit to him and, for a time, the holy man dominated in Flanders as a peacemaker. Therefore two things are clear. Firstly, the hagiographical picture is that of Saint Arnulf as peacemaker using his ecclesiastical authority to establish a more lasting peace than any layman could ever achieve. Secondly, and more historically, Saint Arnulf exploited his position as a double exile for all it was worth. As an outsider, but at the same time as a man with strong connections in west Flanders, he exploited his position to do what he could in his ancestral lands. Being outside control of the Count, his position was one of both strength and moral courage. The hagiographers recognized this and used Saint Arnulf as a good example in turbulent times. Hariulf, though, in his version of the *Life* stressed the reprehensible role of Count Robert the Frisian as the cause of all troubles. He referred to Saint Arnulf's exile through the words of the saint's companion and fellow exile, Everolf, who, asking for comfort, addressed Saint Arnulf: 'Father and bishop, for whom I have been so long an exile' (II.30).

Arnold of Brescia in Exile: April 1139 to December 1143 – His Role as a Reformer, Reviewed

ROMEDIO SCHMITZ-ESSER

In the nineteenth century, the name of Arnold of Brescia was well known and quite common to historians, as well as poets, all over Europe. The intellectuals of the century, in search of famous forerunners in history for their high-flung ideals, saw him as a precursor of Swiss independence, and as a pioneer of the political unification of the Italian peninsula.[1] But was Arnold really a political, a social reformer? It is time to challenge a much cherished but arguable view.

Today, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, the interest in the person of the twelfth-century canon, whose preaching against the Church's property became a major reason for the expulsion of the popes from the city of Rome in the 1140s and 1150s, is conspicuously low. One reason for this may be seen in the very small number of trustworthy statements we can gather from our sources, and we have no document that can be securely attributed to Arnold himself.[2] Of Arnold's time in exile, the letters of Bernard, the famous and well-informed abbot of Clairvaux, are one of our main sources, and sometimes it is only Bernard who mentions the activities of Arnold, while other sources remain silent. But we must proceed with caution since

[1] The statue of Arnold of Brescia in the city of Brescia, erected in 1882, renders proof of this. One of the inscriptions proves not only that Brescia and Italy have had an interest in keeping up the *memoria* of the famous schismatic, but also that the city of Zürich, too, had supported the erection of the monument.

[2] There is just one letter that was probably written by Arnold himself: the letter of a *quidam fidelis sentatus* to King Conrad III: *Codice diplomatico del Senato romano dal MCXLIV al MCCCXLVII*, ed. by Franco Bartoloni, Fonti per la storia d'Italia, 87 (Rome: Tipografia del Senato, 1948), I, no. 7, pp. 8–9; see also *Monumenta Corbeiensia*, vol. I, ed. by Philippus Jaffé, Bibliotheca rerum Germanicarum (Berlin: Weidmann, 1864), no. 216, pp. 335–36.

Bernard was one of Arnold of Brescia's harshest enemies. At first glance the hostility of these two clerics seems astonishing; both were interested in a reform of the Church, both were clerics and lived a life in poverty and simplicity to follow the way of the apostles. Why did they become irreconcilable opponents?

One may see the answer to this question in Arnold of Brescia's social commitment, which leads us directly to the second reason for the low interest in Arnold's person in the recent past. In the twentieth century, historians have commonly focused on social developments and phenomena of the like. This broadening of our historic view, of our knowledge about the past, meant that historic research has exhibited a dislike of person-related historiography, which in the nineteenth century was a common feature.[3] This is the reason why the person of Arnold was no longer a subject of intense research, especially after the studies of Frugoni in the 1950s.[4] Nonetheless, Arnold of Brescia has been used by many historians to support their own view of history. In a couple of socialist studies, for instance, Arnold became a kind of high medieval social reformer.[5] Slightly differentiated, this viewpoint is still very common; Jürgen Strothmann's article in *Theologie und Glaube*, to mention just the most recent example, introduces Arnold as the defender of a social Christianity.[6]

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[3] The same reason for this lack of interest in the person of Arnold of Brescia was stressed by Ludwig Schmugge in 1992: 'Das Fehlen Arnolds von Brescia wurde in der Diskussion von Herrn Maleczek bedauernd zur Kenntnis genommen, aber es ist ein Trend der heutigen Geschichtsschreibung, von den Heroen abzukommen' ('Kirche – Kommune – Kaiser', in *Rom im hohen Mittelalter*, ed. by Bernhard Schimmelpfennig and Ludwig Schmugge (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1992), pp. 169–79 (p. 175)).

[4] Especially Arsenio Frugoni, *Arnaldo da Brescia nelle fonti del secolo XII*, *Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo*, Studi storici, 8/9 (Rome, Tipografia del Senato, 1954).

[5] For example, Ernst Werner and Martin Erbstösser, *Ketzer und Heilige,* Das religiöse Leben im Hochmittelalter (Vienna: Böhlau, 1986); Naum Abramovic Bortnik, 'Арнольд Брешанский' (Arnold of Brescia), in *Большая Советская Энциклопедия* (Great Soviet Encyclopedia), vol. II (Moscow: Издательство 'Советская Энциклопедия' ('Soviet Encyclopedia'), 1970), p. 251.

[6] Jürgen Strothmann, '*Arnold von Brescia*: Christentum als soziale Religion', *Theologie und Glaube*, 87 (1997), 55–80. One has to proceed carefully with this article, as many of Strothmann's theories do not endure critical scrutiny. For example, on pp. 59–60 Strothmann identifies the *Arnoldus subdiac[onus] et can[onicus] Brixia* in the *Liber confraternitatum Seccoviensis* with Arnold of Brescia. However, this short passage refers most certainly to another Arnold, canon at Brixen/Bressanone in Southern Tyrol (Brescia and Brixen both have the Latin name of *Brixia*); *Liber confraternitatum Seccoviensis*, in MGH Necrologia Germaniae, 2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1904), pp. 357–401 (p. 374); and Leo Santifaller, *Das Brixner Domkapitel in seiner persönlichen Zusammensetzung im Mittelalter*, Schlern Schriften, 7 (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1924), p. 272. For a more detailed refutation, see Romedio Schmitz-Esser, 'Die Entstehung der römischen Kommune (1143–1155): Über den Einfluss Arnolds von Brescia auf die Politik des römischen Senats', in *Innsbrucker Historische Studien* (Innsbruck: Studien-Verlag, 2004, forthcoming).

Consequently, one of the main questions we must answer in relation to Arnold's role in European history and his relation to Bernard of Clairvaux is whether he supported social ideas and, if so, which kind of ideas. In response to this question it is not fruitful to give another analysis of Arnold's time at Rome, which has already been examined in great detail.[7] Instead, research on his activities in exile may be more productive in clarifying some of our doubts. These activities have been neglected by nearly all historians as they have apparently been more interested in the role Arnold played for the Roman commune.

Brescia and the Condemnation at Lateran II (1139)

At Brescia, where the Regular canon Arnold had most likely been abbot of the community at San Pietro in Ripa,[8] we can already see him as a supporter of the commune in its efforts to become independent of the city's bishop. Arnold's central idea focused on an apostolic and poor Church with no possessions or temporal rights; thus he hoped to solve the problems of the Gregorian Reform since, by not having a benefice, only dignified men would become clerics.[9]

We have only a few indications as to the role Arnold played in the rebellion by the citizens of Brescia against their bishop, Manfred. The *Annales Brixienses* give only a short notice concerning the expulsion of some *consules pravi* without, however, providing any further information.[10] Moreover, the dates given by the Annales

[7] For a detailed bibliography and examination of the role Arnold played for the Roman commune, see Schmitz-Esser, 'Die Entstehung'.

[8] From John of Salisbury we know that he became abbot at Brescia: *Fuerat abbas apud Brixiam* (*The Historia Pontificalis of John of Salisbury*, ed. by Marjorie Chibnall, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), ch. 31 (pp. 62–65). Frugoni was the first to argue that it was the community of San Pietro in Ripa where Arnold performed this duty: *Arnaldo da Brescia*, pp. 12–13. Compare Giovanni Spinelli, 'Ordini e congregazioni religiose', in *Diocesi di Brescia*, ed. by Adriano Caprioli, Storia religiosa della Lombardia, 3 (Brescia: La Scuola, 1992), pp. 291–355 (p. 300); and Giancarlo Andenna, 'Canoniche regolari e canonici a Brescia nell'età di *Arnaldo*', in *Arnaldo da Brescia e il suo tempo*, ed. by Maurizio Pegrari (Brescia: Fondazione Banca Credito Agrario Bresciano, 1991), pp. 119–132 (pp. 126–27).

[9] From Otto of Freising we know of Arnold: 'Dicebat enim nec clericos proprietatem nec episcopos regalia nec monachos possessiones habentes aliqua ratione salvari posse' (*Ottonis episcopi Frisingensis et Rahewini Gesta Frederici seu rectius Cronica / Bischof Otto von Freising und Rahewin, Die Taten Friedrichs oder richtiger Cronica*, ed. by Franz-Josef Schmale, Ausgewählte Quellen zur Deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters: Freiherr vom Stein-Gedächtnisausgabe, 17 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1974), Book II, ch. 30 (pp. 338–42)).

[10] Annales A to the year 1135: *Consules pravi deiecti sunt*; Annales B to the year 1139: *Consules pravi a Brixiensibus expulsi sunt* (*Annales Brixiensis*, ed. by Ludwig C. Bethmann in MGH SS, 18 (Hannover: Hahn, 1863), pp. 811–20 (p. 812)).

A and B are not the same; but there is at least one thing that can be accepted without any doubt: there was strong opposition within the city against the Bishop. The reasons for the disturbances can be seen in three developments:

1. The schism of 1130 and the role that Bishop Manfred played therein. In 1132 he was appointed by Pope Innocent II (1130–43), and even if we cannot say with certainty that his deposed predecessor, Bishop Villano, took the side of Pope Anacletus (1130–38), it is certain that Villano had good relations with his citizens. This situation changed with the newcomer Manfred, and it may well be that his strict support for the party of Innocent II and his ideas of Church reform were a reason for his poor sympathies within the city.[11]
2. The second bone of contention may be seen in the restitution of Church property as a result of the Gregorian Reform. This eleventh-century reform claimed the restitution of old ecclesiastical rights and possessions. Laymen were threatened with excommunication if they refused to return usurped rights to the clergy. Of course, the result was hostility by the laypersons affected; moreover, the clergy became richer and departed more and more from the ideal of poverty and apostolic life.[12]
3. Finally, at the same time, the economic prosperity of the area of Brescia increased and this supported the formation of a commune in the city, the first traces of which we see in 1118 and the early 1120s.[13]

Now we can imagine how easily the preaching of a canon, living in poverty without any luxuries or possessions, was able to rouse the citizens against the clergy and the Bishop, the head of the city. John of Salisbury, one of the most important sources for the history of Arnold of Brescia, tells us that 'he had been abbot of Brescia, and when the bishop was absent on a short visit to Rome [Arnold] had so swayed the minds of the citizens that they would scarcely open their gates to the bishop on his

[11] Irma Bonini Valetti, 'La Chiesa dalle origini agli inizi del dominio veneziano: Istituzioni e strutture', in *Diocesi di Brescia*, ed. by Caprioli, pp. 17–63 (p. 40). Ferdinand Opll, *Stadt und Reich im 12. Jahrhundert (1125–1190)*, Forschungen zur Kaiser- und Papstgeschichte des Mittelalters, Beihefte zu Johann Friedrich Böhmer, Regesta Imperii, 6 (Vienna: Böhlau, 1986), p. 223. Cinzio Violante, 'La Chiesa bresciana nel medioevo', in *Storia di Brescia*, vol. I, *Dalle origini alla caduta della signoria viscontea (1426)* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 1963), pp. 1001–124 (p. 1049). Wilhelm von Giesebrecht, *Arnold von Brescia*, *Ein akademischer Vortrag* (Munich: Akad., 1873), p. 11.

[12] This development can be found all over twelfth-century Italy: André Vauchez, 'Im Abendland: Von radikaler Kritik zur Häresie', in *Machtfülle des Papsttums*, ed. by André Vauchez (Freiburg: Herder, 1994), pp. 488–503 (pp. 489–90).

[13] Bonini Valetti, 'La Chiesa', p. 37; Roberto Navarrini, 'Istituzioni e lotte politiche: Il Comitato bresciano tra XII e XIII secolo', in *Arnaldo da Brescia e il suo tempo*, ed. by Pegrari, pp. 81–117 (pp. 103–04); Opll, *Stadt und Reich*, pp. 222–23.

return'.[14] If we can trust John's *Historia Pontificalis*, Arnold preached from the first moment against the wealth and luxury of the clergy, thereby profiting from the specific social, economic, and political environment at Brescia, as he would later do at Zürich and finally at Rome.

Bishop Manfred saw no way to resolve the revolt other than to beg Pope Innocent II for the condemnation of Arnold and his followers.[15] At Lateran II, in April 1139, Innocent and the bishops followed Manfred's recommendations. As a result, Arnold was sentenced to silence and had to leave his diocese, and his exile from the Italian peninsula began, lasting at least four years.[16]

The Council of Sens

The first step of Arnold's journey led him to the Council of Sens, where he defended Peter Abelard against his harshest enemy, Abbot Bernard of Clairvaux. We know from Otto of Freising that, in his youth, Arnold had already been the disciple of Abelard,[17] but many historians have expressed doubts concerning Otto's description.[18] It may be that Otto of Freising was irritated by the defence of Peter Abelard by Arnold at Sens, so that he invented an earlier discipleship, but other sources, like John of Salisbury, do not contradict Otto's description.[19] However, this is neither the place

[14] 'Fuerat abbas apud Brixiam, et dum episcopus Romam profectus aliquantulum moraretur, sic interim ciuium flexit animos ut episcopum uix uoluerit admittere redeuntem': John of Salisbury, *Historia Pontificalis*, ch.. 31

[15] 'in magno concilio Rome sub Innocentio habito ab episcopo civitatis illius virisque religiosis accusatur': Otto of Freising, *Gesta*, Book II, ch. 30 (pp. 340–41).

[16] John of Salisbury, *Historia Pontificalis*, ch. 31. Otto of Freising, *Gesta*, Book II, ch. 30.

[17] Otto of Freising, *Gesta*, Book II, ch. 30. Arnold is said to be a *discipulus magistri Abailart* by Sigebert of Gembloux, too, but this account seems to be based on Otto's text: *Sigberti Gemblacensis chronica cum continuationibus*, ed. by Ludwig C. Bethmann in MGH SS, 6 (Hannover: Hahn, 1844), pp. 268–474 (p. 403). Compare Frugoni, *Arnaldo da Brescia*, p. 165.

[18] To name just the most important studies: Peter Classen, *Gerhoch von Reichersberg*, *Eine Biographie, Mit einem Anhang über die Quellen, ihre handschriftliche Überlieferung und ihre Chronologie* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1960), pp. 105–06; George William Greenaway, *Arnold of Brescia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1931; repr. 1978), pp. 28–31; A. R. Motte, 'Une fausse accusation contre *Abélard* et *Arnaud de Brescia*', *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, 22 (1933), 27–46; Michele de Palo, 'Due novatori del XII secolo', *Archivio storico italiano*, 14 (1894), 79–114.

[19] The translation of the corresponding passage in the *Historia Pontificalis* given by Chibnall, p. 63, contains errors. She translates: 'crossing the Alps into France he [Arnold] became a disciple of Peter Abelard'. In the original text John of Salisbury wrote: *descendit in Franciam et adhesit Petro Abaielardo*. There is no mention about crossing the Alps, even if *descendit* might imply this, nor does *adhesit* imply that he 'became a disciple' right now. We

nor time to discuss this question, especially since it is still uncertain when the Council of Sens took place.[20] But regardless of the date we can maintain that Arnold supported Abelard at Sens. Because of that, Bernard of Clairvaux became his harsh critic and enemy. Presenting himself as the poor, little David who has nothing but his confidence in God, Bernard wrote: 'The tall Goliath steps out, forearmed with his gleaming armour, and in front of him walks his weapon bearer Arnold of Brescia.'[21]

There has been lengthy discussion on the role Arnold played in the defence of Abelard and on the relationship between the two clerics. Frugoni argued that Bernard of Clairvaux's attack against Arnold may merely have been an attempt to discredit his opponent Abelard by showing his strong relationship with the already condemned Arnold.[22] Even if there is some support for this viewpoint, I remain sceptical: if Bernard simply meant to discredit Abelard, why did he continue to attack Arnold in the strongest possible terms wherever he went afterwards? And this attack persisted after Abelard had already withdrawn to Cluny, had made his peace with Bernard, and finally, had died. As we will see, Bernard's merciless hostility remains a constant in Arnold's time in exile.

Six weeks after the Council of Sens, Pope Innocent sent a letter to France in which he condemned and excommunicated Abelard and his disciples.[23] In another letter he gives an order to separate Abelard and Arnold of Brescia, to arrest them in different monasteries, and to burn all of their books.[24] The last, vague passage is the

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can only tell that Arnold joined Abelard, we do not discover anything in John of Salisbury's text about their relationship.

[20] There has been a long discussion about the correct date (1140 or 1141). In a recent study, Strothmann has argued that all older dates were wrong and that there have been two different phases of the events: in 1138 the council itself took place, and in 1140 the papal condemnation followed: Jürgen Strothmann, 'Das Konzil von Sens 1138 und die Folgeereignisse 1140, Datierung und Darstellung, Zur Verurteilung Abelards', *Theologie und Glaube*, 85 (1995), 238–54 and 396–410. However, even Strothmann's depiction still leaves questions.

[21] 'Procedit Golias procero corpore, nobili illo suo bellico apparatu corummunitus, antecedente quoque ipsum armigero eius Arnaldo de Brixia': *Bernhard von Clairvaux. Sämtliche Werke: lateinisch/deutsch*, ed. by Gerhard B. Winkler, 10 vols (Innsbruck: Tyrolia, 1990–99), *Ep*. 189, 3 (III, 68–69). Later Walter Map refers to this letter of Bernard and attacks its content severely: 'In epistola continebatur illa, quod magister Petrus instar Golie superbus esset, Ernaldus de Brixia signifer eius, et in hunc modum pessimum plurima' (Walter Map, *De nugis curialium: Courtiers' Trifles*, ed. and trans. by M. R. James, rev. by C. N. L. Brooke and R. A. B. Mynors, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), p. 78–79).

[22] Frugoni, *Arnaldo da Brescia*, pp. 21–22. Clanchy followed Frugoni's argument: M. T. Clanchy, *Abelard: A Medieval Life* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), pp. 317–18, 327.

[23] *Regesta pontificum romanorum ab condita ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum MCXCVIII*, ed. by Philippus Jaffé (Leipzig: Veit, 1885), I, no. 8148, p. 897.

[24] *Regesta pontificum romanorum*, ed. by Jaffé, I, no. 8149, p. 897.

only hint we have that there existed books by Arnold. However, the Pope's second letter reveals the importance attributed to Arnold as Abelard's main supporter.

Paris: The Successor to Abelard?

Although the Pope's judgement achieved its aim in the case of Abelard, Arnold seems not to have been affected in any way by the renewed condemnation. We find him at Paris, where he taught at the Ste-Geneviève, if we can believe John of Salisbury, our only source for this period of Arnold's exile. John writes:

> But he had no listeners except poor students who publicly begged their bread from door to door to support themselves and their master. He said things that were entirely consistent with the law accepted by Christian people, but not at all with the life they led. To the bishops he was merciless on account of their avarice and filthy lucre; most of all because of stains on their personal lives, and their striving to build the church of God in blood. He denounced the abbot, whose name is renowned above all others for his many virtues, as a seeker after vainglory, envious of all who won distinction in learning or religion unless they were his own disciples. In consequence the abbot prevailed on the most Christian king to expel him from the Frankish kingdom.[25]

The question remains as to why the papal condemnation had no direct consequences on Arnold. In a letter of Bernard of Clairvaux to the Bishop of Constance, Bernard writes that the Pope had already ordered the arrest of Arnold, 'but there was no one who wanted to do this good deed'.[26] In his newest work on Bernard of Clairvaux, Dinzelbacher has speculated that the vacancy of the bishopric at Paris in 1142/43 may explain this neglect.[27] At first glance this seems to be a plausible explanation, but I remain sceptical. I suggest that if Arnold's case was of such interest as Bernard's and John of Salisbury's accounts lead us to believe, even the metropolitan of Paris, the Archbishop of Sens, could have intervened in the diocese during the vacancy. After all, the Archbishop of Sens was one of the addressees of Pope Innocent's order to have Arnold arrested and therefore was instructed to carry out the papal decree.[28] But in the end it was not the Archbishop who expelled Arnold from Paris; the French king Louis VII (1137–80) himself did so after Bernard's intervention.[29] All of this

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[25] John of Salisbury, *Historia Pontificalis*, ch. 31.

[26] 'Hoc [to expel Arnold] enim et dominus Papa, dum adhuc esset apud nos, ob mala quae de illo audiebat, fieri scribendo mandavit; sed non fuit qui faceret bonum': Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep*. 195, 2 (*Sämtliche Werke*, III, 140–43).

[27] Peter Dinzelbacher, *Bernhard von Clairvaux: Leben und Werk des berühmten Zisterziensers* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1998), p. 262.

[28] See note 24 above.

[29] 'Optinuit ergo abbas [Bernard of Clairvaux], ut eum Christianissimus rex eiceret de regno Francorum': John of Salisbury, *Historia Pontificalis*, ch. 31.

evidence seems to confirm another supposition: John of Salisbury has dramatized Arnold's time at Paris and has put into Arnold's mouth his later, probably more radical doctrines. It has already been said that his account cannot be verified with certainty since it is our only source on Arnold's time in Paris. Moreover, while explaining the beginnings of Arnold's teaching he draws a clear parallel between Abelard and Arnold: 'After master Peter had set out for Cluny, he remained at Paris on the Mont Ste-Geneviève, expounding the scriptures to scholars at the church of St Hilary where Peter had been lodged.'[30] It may be that we need to see this comparison between teacher and disciple as a rhetorical element.[31] Therefore, John's description of Arnold's preaching at Paris should at least be questioned. If we extend this thought further, Bernard seems to have been a religious zealot who was preaching against a person whom others did not yet see as a real threat. This picture of the situation in France corresponds perfectly with the results of the research on Arnold's time at Zürich and in Bohemia, which will now be discussed.

Zürich – St Martin and the Counts of Lenzburg

As with Arnold's time in Paris, the sources for his sojourn at Zürich are also scarce. The most detailed source is Bernard of Clairvaux's letter to the Bishop of Constance, Hermann of Arbon.[32] Bernard warns him that Arnold is in his diocese and that, while Arnold may seem worthy, 'until today he has left everywhere such nasty and terrible traces, that he can't dare to return where he once set his foot'.[33] Therefore the Bishop of Constance is advised to take action against Arnold, and it would be preferable to arrest him rather than merely to expel him from the diocese.

It is not clear if this letter was successful, but it is unlikely that Bernard's warning had no impact on Hermann of Arbon. In 1146, only four years later, the Bishop himself invited Bernard to visit his diocese, and he accompanied the Abbot while he preached the crusade. Moreover, the Bishop wrote the *Miracula S. Bernardi in itinere Germanico patrate*, which suggests that they enjoyed a good relationship.[34] It

[30] 'Postquam uero magister Petrus Cluniacum profectus est, Parisius manens in monte sancte Genouefe diuinas litteras scolaribus exponebat apud sanctum Hylarium, ubi iam dictus Petrus fuerat hospitatus': John of Salisbury, *Historia Pontificalis*, ch. 31.

[31] Compare Raoul Manselli, 'Giovanni di Salisbury e l'Italia del suo tempo', in *The World of John of Salisbury*, ed. by Michael Wilks, Studies in Church History, 3 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1984), pp. 401–14 (p. 405).

[32] Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep*. 195 (*Sämtliche Werke*, III, 138–43).

[33] 'Is ergo usque ad hanc aetatem, ubicumque conversatus est, tam foeda post se et tam saeva reliquit vestigia, ut ubi semel fixerit pedem, illuc ultra omnino redire non audeat': Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep*. 195, 1 (*Sämtliche Werke*, III, 140–41).

[34] Franz Xaver Bischof, Brigitte Degler-Spengler, and others, 'I. Die Bischöfe', in *Das Bistum Konstanz – Das Erzbistum Mainz – Das Bistum St. Gallen*, Helvetica Sacra, Abteilung

is probable that the case of Arnold of Brescia was already known to Bishop Hermann of Arbon, because his consecration took place at the Second Lateran Council — the same council at which, as we have seen, Arnold was condemned for the first time.[35] Nonetheless we cannot say for sure whether Arnold was actually expelled by the Bishop of Constance or, as Bernard demanded, was taken prisoner. We only know that a period of imprisonment could not have lasted very long because, in the year 1143, we find Arnold in Bohemia.

Our second source for Arnold's time in the diocese of Constance is Otto of Freising. Here we find that Zürich was the city where Arnold 'disseminated his pernicious doctrine for some days'.[36] Other later sources, among them the *Ligurinus*, confirm Otto's statement, which, however, is not really surprising since they are based on Otto's text.[37]

The most interesting chapter of Arnold's sojourn at Zürich concerns the type and success of his preaching in the diocese of Constance. As we have already heard, Otto of Freising writes that Arnold was only in the city for a few days (*aliquot diebus*). Therefore, we should ask whether he had sufficient time to launch his ideas on Church reform and the return to apostolic life.

To answer this question we have to determine where the Brescian canon may have lodged in Zürich. At the beginning of the twelfth century there were only five churches within the city, of which only the Großmünster had a canon chapter.[38] This situation changed in 1127, when Rudolf of Fluntern donated a tract of forest at the Zürichberg to the Großmünster. He wished the canons to construct the new monastery of St Martin on it, which should be independent of the influence of the city's canons and be placed under the jurisdiction of Count Werner of Lenzburg-Baden.[39]

I, 2, Erzbistümer und Bistümer II, Erster Teil (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1993), pp. 229–494 (p. 270).

[35] Franz-Josef Schmale, 'Laterankonzil 2. L. II.', in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. V (Munich: Artemis, 1991), pp. 1740–41 (p. 1740).

[36] 'in oppido Alemannie Turego officium doctoris assumens pernitiosum dogma aliquot diebus seminavit': Otto of Freising, *Gesta*, Book II, ch. 30 (pp. 340–41).

[37] Gunther, *Ligurinus*, ed. by Erwin Assmann, MGH SS, 63 (Hannover: Hahn, 1987), verses 3, 304–09.

[38] Reinhold Kaiser, 'Vom Früh- zum Hochmittelalter', in *Geschichte des Kantons Zürich*, Band I: Frühzeit bis Spätmittelalter (Zürich: Werd-Verlag, 1995), pp. 130–71 (p. 161). Compare Albert Bruckner, *Schreibschulen der Diözese Konstanz, Stadt und Landschaft Zürich*, Scriptoria Medii Aevi Helvetica, Denkmäler schweizerischer Schreibkunst des Mittelalters, 4 (Geneva: Roto-Sadag, 1940), esp. pp. 79–80.

[39] Kaiser, 'Vom Früh- zum Hochmittelalter', p. 161; and Bruckner, *Schreibschulen*, p. 113. In 1973 an excavation at the Zürichberg uncovered the foundations of a Romanesque church with three naves and its own cloister: Kaiser, 'Vom Früh- zum Hochmittelalter', p. 161. The monastery of St Martin lay a little outside the town: Jürg E. Schneider, 'Zürich', in *Stadtluft, Hirsebrei und Bettelmönch* (Stuttgart: Theiss, 1992), pp. 69–91 (p. 85).

The historian Reinhold Kaiser saw three important groups committed to this foundation: (1) the new *advocatus*, meaning the Count of Lenzburg-Baden; (2) the citizens of Zürich, among them some of the most distinguished families, as seen by their names; and (3), last but not least, those canons of the Großmünster that became the inhabitants of the new monastery at the Zürichberg.[40] To all appearances, these clerics sought a possibility to reform their lives, returning to poverty like the apostles, and therefore wanted to leave the chapter of the rich Großmünster. The Großmünster was so wealthy in the second half of the twelfth century that it became the noblest church of the whole diocese after the cathedral of Constance itself.[41]

This last group may well have had a link with Arnold of Brescia, as Kaiser himself supposed.[42] This link is not improbable, because the building of the monastery cannot be proved before the year 1142, whereby the year of the donation may hardly be seen as the year of the foundation.[43] However, regardless of whether Arnold took an important role in the foundation of the convent or not, only the new monastery of St Martin at the Zürichberg seems a fitting domicile for the Brescian canon.[44]

The link between Arnold of Brescia and the *advocatus* of St Martin is confirmed again several years later, when Arnold apparently had great influence in the Roman senate.[45] In 1152 one of his sympathizers, named Wezel, took the initiative to congratulate the new king, Frederick Barbarossa, on his election and coronation. In his letter Wezel clarifies with harsh words his view that only the Romans — meaning the newly formed senate — should have the right to choose their emperor. Therefore Frederick should come to Rome immediately, because 'which law, which reasonable motive could prevent the senate and the Romans from electing an emperor on their own?'. To prevent this, Frederick will have to act quickly and should immediately send three royal envoys to Rome for negotiations with the Roman senate.[46] The three

[40] Kaiser, 'Vom Früh- zum Hochmittelalter', pp. 161–62.

[41] Bruckner, *Schreibschulen*, pp. 79–80.

[42] Kaiser, 'Vom Früh- zum Hochmittelalter', p. 162.

[43] Bruckner, *Schreibschulen*, p. 113.

[44] This has already been the suspicion of numerous historians, among them Kaiser, 'Vom Früh- zum Hochmittelalter', p. 162; Alfredo Bosisio, 'Il Comune', in *Storia di Brescia*, vol. I, *Dalle origini alla caduta della signoria viscontea (1426)*, pp. 561–710 (p. 595); Antonio de Stefano, 'Arnaldo da Brescia', in *Enciclopedia Italiana di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, vol. IV (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1949), pp. 538–40 (p. 538); Adolf Hausrath, *Arnold von Brescia* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1895), pp. 66–67.

[45] For the role Arnold played for the Roman commune, see Schmitz-Esser, 'Die Entstehung'.

[46] *Monumenta Corbeiensia*, ed. by Jaffé, no. 404, pp. 539–43; and Johann Friedrich Böhmer (revd by Ferdinand Opll and Hubert Mayr), *Regesta Imperii*, IV. Earlier Staufer. Second section: *Die Regesten des Kaiserreiches unter Friedrich I. 1152 (1122)–1190*. First delivery *1152 (1122)–1158* (Vienna: Hermann Böhlaus Nachf., 1980), no. 134, p. 35. Brezzi and Frugoni argue that the letter dates to a little after 9 May 1152: Paolo Brezzi, *Roma e l'impero medioevale (774–1252)*, Storia di Roma, 10 (Bologna: Cappelli, 1947), p. 327; and Arsenio

noblemen demanded were Count Rudolf of Ramsberg, Eberhard of Bodman, and Count Ulrich of Lenzburg. It is conspicuous that all three came from the diocese of Constance. Moreover, the last-mentioned Count of Lenzburg was a member of the family to whom the jurisdiction of the monastery of St Martin at Zürichberg belonged — a monastery where (as we have already seen) Arnold most probably lodged a little more then ten years earlier. As Wezel is associated with both the Roman senate and Arnold of Brescia himself, we can conclude that Arnold's party at Rome attempted to contact Frederick Barbarossa by using Arnold's old connections in the diocese of Constance.[47]

This situation would suggest that Arnold received the friendship and good will of some well-situated noblemen in Zürich with great political influence. But these facts evidently are incompatible with Arnold's image as a social reformer, an image very common still in recent studies. Particularly, socialist historians have seen Arnold as the defender of the 'urban poor and women'.[48] At first glance, their findings seem to be confirmed by our sources: Cardinal Boso says Arnold tried to persuade the simple minded to abandon the path of truth,[49] the *Carmen de gestis Frederici imperatoris in Lombardia* states that priests from the common folk heard the preaching of Arnold,[50] and the *Ligurinus* confirms these statements as well.[51]

There is only one source which mentions the audience of Arnold's sermons which contrasts with those I have just mentioned: the letter of Bernard of Clairvaux to the Bishop of Constance. In this, Bernard informs the Bishop as to how Arnold will

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Frugoni, 'Una nota arnaldiana e una nota sublacense', *Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo e archivio muratoriano*, 67 (1955), 289–96 (p. 289). Although it has often been doubted, I agree with Opll that the letter can not be dated with final certainty: Böhmer, Opll, and Mayr, *Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter Friedrich I.*, p. 35.

[47] Wezel himself may well have been a supporter of Arnold who followed his master from the region of Zürich to Bohemia and later to Rome. This idea is suggested by his name which was common at the same time in many families from the city of Zürich. This has been stressed by Miccoli and Frugoni: Giovanni Miccoli, 'La Storia religiosa', in *Storia d'Italia*, vol. II, *Dalla caduta dell'Impero romano al secolo XVIII. Tomo primo* (Turin: Einaudi, 1974), pp. 431–1079 (p. 630); Frugoni, *Arnaldo da Brescia*, pp. 72–73. Strothmann's theory that Wezel may come from Gurk is completely improbable, as the Arnold mentioned in the *Liber confraternitatum Seccoviensis* is identified as a canon from Brixen/South Tyrol; see note 6 above.

[48] Werner and Erbstösser, *Ketzer und Heilige*, p. 256.

[49] 'In diebus illis Arnaldus Brixiensis hereticus Urbem intrare presumpserat, et erroris sui venena disseminans mentes simplicium a via veritatis subvertere conabatur': Cardinal Boso, *Les Vies des papes [Gesta pontificum Romanorum]*, in *Le Liber pontificalis: Texte, introduction et commentaire II*, ed. by Louis Duchesne (Paris: E. De Boccard, 1955), pp. 351–446 (p. 389) (CLXX).

[50] 'sacerdotes pariter populusque minores': *Carmen de gestis Frederici I. imperatoris in Lombardia*, ed. by Irene Schmale-Ott, MGH SS, 62 (Hannover: Hahn, 1965), verse 768.

[51] 'Fallebat sermone rudes clerumque procaci': Gunther, *Ligurinus*, III, verse 267.

attempt to disturb the peace within the Church: he would try to become acquainted with the rich and noble, to persuade them with his sermons, and then, once he had their good will, he would stir up their animosity against the clerics and the Church itself.[52] Bernard seems to have had reason to dramatize Arnold's behaviour, because the aim of his letter was to convince the Bishop to take action against the Brescian schismatic. But, as we have already seen, Bernard seems to have been very well informed about the situation at Zürich. Arnold's probable friends in Wezel's letter fit perfectly with the picture which Bernard himself describes in his letter to Bishop Hermann of Arbon.

How can we explain the differences between the statements of Boso, the *Carmen de gestis*, and the *Ligurinus* on the one hand, and Bernard's letter on the other? It is very simple: the first sources comment on Arnold's time at Rome during which he became a defender of the Roman senate, whereas Bernard is our only explicit source for Arnold's time in the diocese of Constance. Why had Arnold such an unequal audience at Zürich and at Rome?

The answer lies in the different situations in the two cities. Within the diocese of Constance, Arnold found a nobility not dependant on the Bishop and therefore susceptible to Arnold's ideas of a Church without temporal possessions and power; it may well be that, for this nobility, these ideas became a welcome weapon in the battle against the Bishop's sphere of influence in the diocese. As seen from this point of view, it might have been no coincidence that Arnold came to Zürich — and not to Constance — and that we find him in a newly founded monastery that had as its advocate one of the nobles of the diocese (the Count of Lenzburg-Baden). Also, this special situation may explain why Arnold decided to flee from France to the south of Alemannia.[53]

At Rome, just a few years later, Arnold found an entirely different situation: the high nobility of the city stood on the side of the papacy and therefore had no interest in a doctrine which attacked the temporal power of the Pope and, thus, their own interests.[54] But there was another force within the city that agreed perfectly with Arnold's doctrine of Church reform and his concept of a poor, apostolic Church: the newly founded Roman senate. If Arnold was interested in disseminating his ideas in the most effective way, it was more than logical to act in combination with the senate, as it was prudent to try to get the support of the local nobility in Alemannia.

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[52] Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep*. 195, 2 (*Sämtliche Werke*, III, 140–43).

[53] Frugoni suggested that other conflicts in the diocese could have been important for Arnold's decision (*Arnaldo da Brescia*, pp. 27–28), but I don't agree: there had been problems, as at Brescia, between Bishop Hermann, the candidate of Innocent II, and Brunico, his imperial opponent; but already in 1142 we see King Conrad III at Constance as a guest of the universally accepted Bishop Hermann of Arbon: Bischof, Degler-Spengler, and others, 'I. Bischöfe', p. 270.

[54] For the special situation that led to the formation of the Roman commune, see Schmitz-Esser, 'Die Entstehung'.

Therefore, this finding confirms Arnold's role as a fervent, radical Church reformer, and dismisses the idea of him being committed to social change.

Bohemia – Arnold and Cardinal Guido

But let us return to Arnold of Brescia's itinerary. For the last stage of his exile we have only one source, and again this is a letter of the well-informed Abbot of Clairvaux. The letter is addressed *Ad Guidonem legatum*, which has led to great confusion in historic research of the last 150 years as there were no fewer than eight cardinals of the same name at the beginning of the 1140s. The problem still remains, and the question has some importance because even dictionaries repeat common errors, for example that the mentioned Guido could have been Guido di Castello, the future Pope Celestine II (1143–44).[55] By the end of the nineteenth century Giesebrecht, a German historian, had already proved that this identification must be wrong; at the time in question Guido di Castello was at Rome and not papal legate.[56]

There are only two possible papal legates: Cardinal Guido de Castro Ficeclo, who visited Bohemia,[57] and Cardinal Guido of SS. Cosma e Damiano, legate to the Iberian peninsula.[58] Either could be meant by Bernard, but given these options it seems clear that the legate in Bohemia is the correct one; when leaving Zürich it was closer for Arnold to go to Bohemia than to Spain, so that the Guido mentioned by the Abbot of Clairvaux was most probably Guido de Castro Ficeclo.[59] Arnold came to the

[55] The legate is misidentified as Guido di Castello, for example, by Raoul Manselli, 'Arnold von Brescia', in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. I (Munich: Artemis, 1980), pp. 1005–06 (p. 1006); Raoul Manselli, 'Arnold von Brescia', in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, vol. IV (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1979), pp. 129–33 (p. 130); Brezzi, *Roma*, p. 328; de Stefano, 'Arnaldo da Brescia', pp. 538–39.

[56] Giesebrecht, *Arnold von Brescia*, pp. 16–17. Compare Frugoni, *Arnaldo da Brescia*, pp. 31–32.

[57] Michael Horn, *Studien zur Geschichte Papst Eugens III. (1145–1153)*, Europäische Hochschulschriften III, 508 (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1992), p. 177. Werner Maleczek, *Papst und Kardinalskolleg von 1191 bis 1216: Die Kardinäle unter Coelestin III. und Innozenz III.* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1984), p. 229; Luchesius Spätling, '*Kardinal Guido* und seine Legation in Böhmen-Mähren (1142–1146)', *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung*, 66 (1958), 306–30 (p. 308). Baumgärtner agreed with the identification of Guido de Castro Ficeclo (in the article as 'Guido de Castro Miceclo', probably a misprint): Ingrid Baumgärtner, 'Arnold von Brescia', in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, vol. I (Freiburg: Herder, 1993), p. 1022.

[58] Ian Stuart Robinson, *The Papacy 1073–1198: Continuity and Innovation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 159 and 304; Werner Maleczek, 'Guido. 3. G. Pisanus', in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. IV (Munich: Artemis, 1989), pp. 1771–72 (p. 1772).

[59] Classen, *Gerhoch*, p. 105.

legate before September 1143, as Bernard's letter implies that Pope Innocent II was still alive (he died on 24 September), and Bernard tells us that the Cardinal received Arnold in his retinue.[60] The mission of Cardinal Guido de Castro Ficeclo began in autumn 1142, but we can't say exactly when.[61] The legate's aim was to pacify the situation in Bohemia and Moravia and to ensure that Church reform was carried out in this region.[62] The laconic notice given by the monk of Sazawa shows that Guido had in the beginning some success: 'In this year the apostolic legate separated the priests from their wives.'[63]

It may be that the interest in Church reform was the common ground between Cardinal Guido and Arnold of Brescia. The Cardinal had Arnold in his retinue and, if we can trust Bernard of Clairvaux, maintained a good relationship with him. Bernard attacks Arnold with harsh words in his letter to persuade the Cardinal to cease his support of the Brescian schismatic, 'whose speech is honey and his doctrine poison, who has the head of a dove and the tail of a scorpion'.[64] And, a little later in this letter, and clearly addressed directly to the Cardinal himself: 'Therefore to support this man means to contradict the pope, moreover, to contradict God, the Lord.'[65] It appears that the Cardinal was not much impressed by the Abbot's severity. We have no response to Bernard's letter.[66] As far as we can see, Guido made no change to his

[60] Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep*. 196, 2 (*Sämtliche Werke*, III, 144–45). Spätling and Giesebrecht have dated the letter to before the death of Pope Innocent: Spätling, '*Kardinal Guido*', p. 321; and Giesebrecht, *Arnold von Brescia*, p. 16. The problem is that Innocent's name is not mentioned at all within the letter, as these historians argued; already Bonghi has stressed this problem: Ruggero Bonghi, *Arnaldo da Brescia* (Città di Castello: S. Lapi, 1885), p. 27. However, it seems that the letter implies that Innocent is alive and there is its position in the compilation of the letters of Bernard as another uncertain proof for the given date: after the named letter one can find other letters addressed to Pope Innocent himself (e.g. *Ep*. 198 and 199).

[61] Pope Innocent II announced the Cardinal's mission within a letter to Bishop Henry of Olmütz, which dates from 21 August 1142 and has to be seen as a terminus post quem: Spätling, '*Kardinal Guido*', p. 315; and Frugoni, *Arnaldo da Brescia*, p. 32.

[62] Classen, *Gerhoch*, p. 104, and Frugoni, *Arnaldo da Brescia*, p. 32.

[63] 'Eodem anno legatus apostolici separavit sacerdotes ab uxoribus': *Monachi Sazavensis Continuatio Cosmae*, ed. by Rudolf Köpke in MGH SS, 9 (Hannover: Hahn, 1851), pp. 148–63 (p. 159).

[64] 'Arnaldus de Brixia, cuius conversatio mel et doctrina venenum, cui caput colombae, cauda scorpionis est': Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep*. 196, 1 (*Sämtliche Werke*, III, 142–43).

[65] 'Itaque favere huic, domino Papae contradicere est, etiam et Domino Deo': Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep*. 196, 2 (*Sämtliche Werke*, III, 144–45).

[66] Compare Anna Benvenuti and Massimo P. Papi, 'La nuova religiosità e le eresie', in *La Società comunale e il policentrismo, Storia della società italiana. Parte seconda: Medioevo e l'età dei comuni VI*, ed. by Anna Benvenuti (Milan: Teti, 1986), pp. 191–235 (p. 202); Frugoni, *Arnaldo da Brescia*, p. 35.

relationship with Arnold after receiving Bernard's advice.[67] As a part of Guido's entourage, Arnold may have met two important personalities of his time, and both were later very important sources for the history of the Brescian canon: Otto of Freising and Gerhoh of Reichersberg. Gerhoh himself tells us that he witnessed the legate deposing an abbess at Prague, and a later letter of Pope Celestine II gives proof that Gerhoh and Guido knew each other.[68] Therefore, it is probable that Arnold, too, knew Gerhoh. The sympathies for Arnold's case, evident in his later works, are another hint that the canons Gerhoh and Arnold had a good relationship based on a personal meeting.[69]

The relationship with Otto of Freising is not as clear, but Otto and Cardinal Guido signed a document together on behalf of the foundation of the Cistercian monastery at Sitzing, on 27 October 1143.[70] Arnold was likely in the Cardinal's retinue at Sitzing and may have met Otto on that occasion.

Because we have some indications for the initial return of Cardinal Guido to Rome at the end of 1143, I suggest that Arnold came to Rome at this time and spent only a very short period in the Cardinal's retinue. This supposition furthermore concurs with the fact that only Bernard of Clairvaux mentions Arnold's sojourn in Bohemia and his warm relationship with Cardinal Guido. However, despite Arnold's arrival at Rome at the end of 1143, it has been established that he began to support the Roman Commune no earlier than three years after that.[71]

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[67] Even if it was often maintained that Guido mediated Arnold's later reconciliation with the Pope in 1145/46 at Viterbo, this can't be proved by any source; we can not say anything about the development of Arnold's and Guido's relationship with certainty.

[68] Classen, *Gerhoch*, pp. 104–08; Spätling, '*Kardinal Guido*', pp. 318–19 and 322–23; Frugoni, *Arnaldo da Brescia*, p. 32. In this case, I do not follow Richter, who sees Arnold as a part of Guido's entourage, but 'scarcely Gerhoh of Reichersberg': Karl Richter, 'Die böhmischen Länder im Früh- und Hochmittelalter', in *Handbuch der Geschichte der böhmischen Länder*, vol. I, *Die böhmischen Länder von der archaischen Zeit bis zum Ausgang der Hussitischen Revolution*, ed. by Karl Bosl (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1967), pp. 163–347 (p. 270).

[69] For example, Gerhoh was one of the few critics of Arnold's execution in 1155; compare Gerhoh of Reichersberg, *De investigatione antichristi liber I*, ed. by Ernst Sackur in MGH Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum saeculis XI. et XII. conscripti, 3 (Hannover: Hahn, 1897), pp. 304–95 (p. 347–48 (40)).

[70] *Salzburger Urkundenbuch II (Urkunden von 790–1199)*, ed. by Willibald Hauthaler and Franz Martin (Salzburg: Selbstverlag der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde, 1916), pp. 350–52. The document has two parts; it repeats the older donation of Sitzing for building a Cistercian monastery, dated 27 October 1143, whose list of testimonies is important here. The second part of the document deals with the abandonment of the old unsuitable place and the move of the monastery to Raitenhaslach; this second document was given on 5 June 1146.

[71] See Schmitz-Esser, 'Die Entstehung'.

Arnold of Brescia and Bernard of Clairvaux – A Conclusion

To summarize the most important points outlined on Arnold's exile, we can maintain that, as to his time in France, Arnold's role is not very clear given the fact that the sources should not be trusted too much, in particular the statements of Bernard of Clairvaux. In his opinion, Arnold was a great threat, and the Abbot's intervention triggered the papal condemnation of Arnold after the Council of Sens. But after that it seems that no one else in France viewed Arnold and his ideas as a real problem. The high clergy in particular had not shown any interest in fulfilling the papal order. At last, Bernard had to convince King Louis VI that it was necessary to expel Arnold from France, forcing Arnold to flee to the diocese of Constance. There, too, it was Bernard of Clairvaux who immediately intervened with a letter against the Brescian canon.

Although we have only a few sources for Arnold's time at Zürich, this period, especially when compared with his later actions at Rome, casts doubt on whether Arnold's doctrine was in any way a social one.[72] On the contrary, Arnold's sermons found a favourable response, convincing his audience regardless of their social class. This situation corresponds perfectly with what we know of other religious movements of the twelfth century. One can highlight Bernard of Clairvaux himself as a famous example: his sermons concerning the Second Crusade were tremendously successful and were well received in royal families (King Louis VII, Conrad III) as well as by the populace.[73]

All this leads us back to the following question: if social ideas were not the divisive element between Arnold of Brescia and Bernard of Clairvaux, what is the real reason for their longstanding disagreement? It may have been Bernard's jealousy of all disciples who were not his own, as Arnold maintained,[74] and it is certain that Arnold's close relationship with Bernard's most dangerous opponent, Abelard, fed the disagreement between the Abbot and the Brescian schismatic.

However, I see the main reason for their hostility elsewhere. It is true that Arnold and Bernard were supporters of Church reform and that their means were almost the same: preaching, living in poverty, and following the way of the apostles.[75] Both

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[72] This proves that Arnold's role as a social reformer has been grossly overstated, and it is time to correct this mistake, all the more so as this picture is being maintained even in recent studies; the most recent example is the already mentioned article of Strothmann, '*Arnold von Brescia*'.

[73] Dinzelbacher, *Bernard*, pp. 284–98; and Roberto Rusconi, 'La Prédication de la croisade', in *Les Croisades: L'orient et l'occident d'Urbain II à Saint Louis 1096–1270*, ed. by Monique Rey-Delqué (Milan: Electa, 1997), pp. 141–45 (p. 141).

[74] John of Salisbury, *Historia Pontificalis*, ch. 31.

[75] From a letter of Wibald of Stablo to the canon Manegold we know about Bernard's way of life and his preaching: 'Siquidem vir ille bonus, longo heremi squalore et ieiuniis ac pallore confectus et in quandam spiritualis formae tenuitatem redactus, prius persuadet visus quam auditus. [. . .] Non igitur mirum, si potenti tantarum rerum virtute excitat dormientes, immo, ut

exposed the secularization of the Church, above all at the Roman Curia, to open criticism, demanding a purified clergy.[76] Moreover, they had set forth the same principle problem hindering the reform of the Church for which they suffered: in their eyes the influence of laymen within the Church had caused the deplorable state of affairs. Yet, the primary difference between Bernard and Arnold was in their answers for the solution of this problem. Arnold wanted to separate radically the two spheres of influence: the Church and all clerics should abandon all worldly possessions; thus, only dignified men would become clerics, and no emperor or king would have further reason to interfere in their election and ordination. Bernard's view was completely different: in his eyes the political influence of the Church — and especially of the pope — had to increase in such a manner that even the emperor would not be able to interfere in ecclesiastical matters; this is why Bernard became a major supporter of the papal position in France and in Italy.[77] With that he hoped to dismiss the rights claimed by laymen concerning the filling of ecclesiastical dignities. From this viewpoint, Bernard was less concerned with Arnold's actions as a disciple of Abelard's heretical doctrines, and more with Arnold's frontal attack on Bernard's concept of a powerful and independent Church — which was, in his eyes, the foundation of genuine Church reform.

Therefore, the reasons for Bernard's hostility against Abelard and Arnold have two completely different roots. On the one hand, this hostility is shown by the great frequency of Bernard's attacks against Arnold, not only in the sphere of the Council at Sens, but even after Abelard's death. Frugoni's thesis, that Bernard's harsh words

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plus dicam, mortuos': *Monumenta Corbeiensia*, ed. by Jaffé, no. 167, pp. 276–88 (p. 285). Arnold, too, shared this life full of privation, and for that Bernard himself is the best source; even while criticizing Arnold with harshest words, he never attacks the Brescian's way of life. To stress just one passage: 'Arnaldum loquor de Brixia, qui utinam tam sanae esset doctrinae quam districtae est vitae. Et si vultis scire, homo est neque manducans, neque bibens, solo cum diabolo esuriens et sitiens sanguinem animarum': Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep*. 195, 1 (*Sämtliche Werke*, III, 138–39).

[76] Bringing forward, as proof, even the same quote in the Bible (Christ's purification of the temple), and both calling the Curia a *spelunca latronis* and a *domus negotiationis*: Bernard of Clairvaux, *De consideratione ad Eugenium papam*, I, 10, 13 and 11, 14 (*Sämtliche Werke*, I, 656–61); for Arnold, cf. John of Salisbury, *Historia Pontificalis*, ch. 31.

[77] Quoting the well-known passage of the Bible, Bernard writes about the two swords (the two powers): 'Quem tamen qui tuum negat, non satis mihi videtur attendere verbum Domini dicentis sic: Converte gladium tuum in vaginam. Tuus ergo et ipse, tuo forsitan nutu, etsi non tua manu evaginandus. Alioquin, si nullo modo ad te pertineret et is, dicentibus Apostolis: Ecce gladii duo hic, non respondisset Dominus: Satis est, sed: "Nimis est."

'Uterque ergo Ecclesiae, et spiritualis scilicet gladius, et materialis, sed is quidem pro Ecclesia, ille vero et ab Ecclesia exserendus: ille sacerdotis, is militis manu, sed sane ad nutum sacerdotis et iussum imperatoris': Bernard of Clairvaux, *De consideratione ad Eugenium papam*, IV, 3, 7 (*Sämtliche Werke*, I, 748–49).

against Arnold at Sens are only comprehensible as the Abbot's attempt to defame Abelard through constructing a close relationship between the famous French theologian and the already condemned Italian canon, is insufficient to explain the persistence of Bernard's attacks against Arnold.[78]

On the other hand, the different views of Bernard concerning Abelard and Arnold can also be proved by the Abbot's nomenclature: even if Abelard is for him the worst heretic, his 'weapon-bearer' Arnold of Brescia is, throughout all the Abbot's letters, just a schismatic.[79] From Bernard's point of view, Arnold's sin is not in creating or defending new religious doctrines, but in dividing the Church in the worst, 'schismatic' sense. Without doubt Bernard's ideas were much more consistent with the real political possibilities of his time; Arnold's ideals were too idealistic to become part of twelfth-century society. This conclusion is confirmed by the failed compromise of 1111, when these ideas became law in the Roman Empire, but were dismissed after just seven days because of harsh protests of the high clergy and nobility.[80]

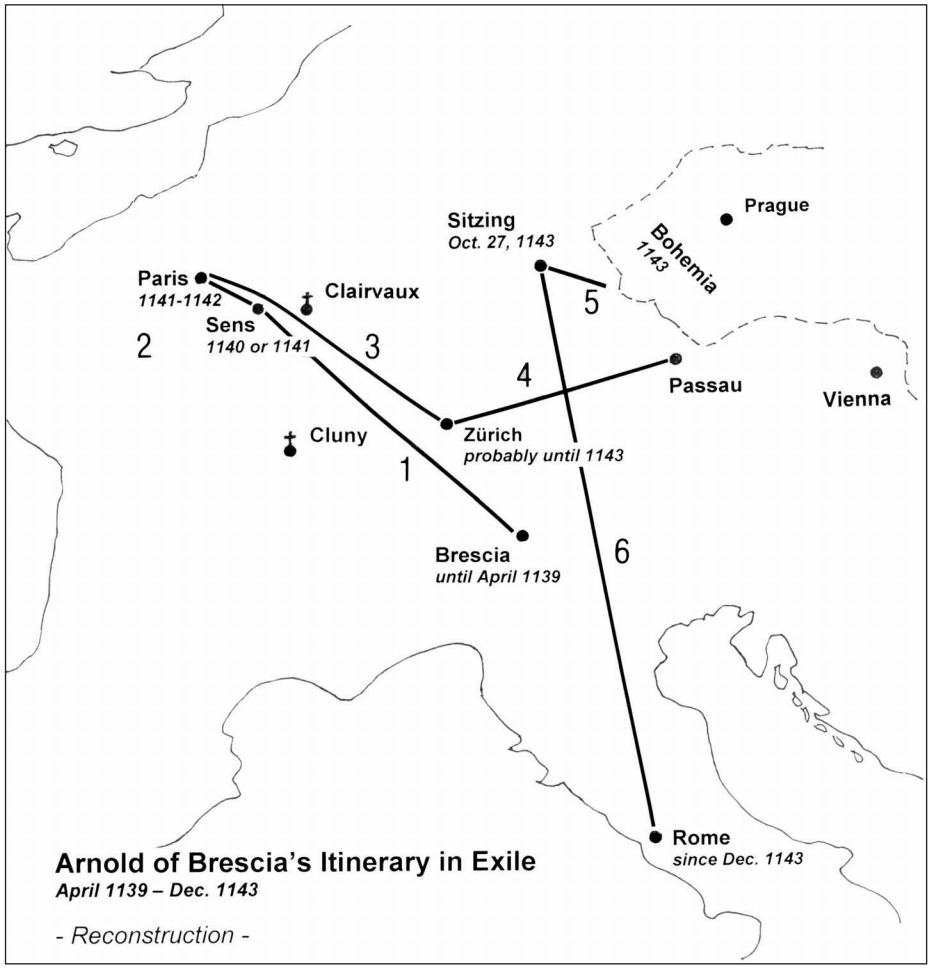
But even if unrealistic and impracticable, there was a place where his ideas fell on fertile ground: at Rome where, since the end of the 1140s, Arnold's doctrines greatly influenced the newly formed Commune. To understand this last stage of Arnold's life, which ensured him a permanent place in European history, this close examination of his exile is of prime importance.

[78] Frugoni, *Arnaldo da Brescia*, pp. 21–22, and Arsenio Frugoni, 'La Fortuna di *Arnaldo da Brescia*', *Annali della scuola normale superiore di Pisa*, 2nd series, 24 (1955), 145–60 (p. 148).

[79] An example is Bernard's letter to the Bishop of Constance, wherein Arnold is named a schismatic: Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep*. 195, 1 (*Sämtliche Werke*, III, 138–41).

[80] Paschal II and Henry V came to an agreement on 4 February at S. Maria in Turri and renewed the compromise by an oath in the treaty of Sutri on 9 February; however, after reading out the conditions of the treaty on 11 February, the harsh protests led to revoking of the treaty: Tilman Struve, 'Sutri, Vertrag v. 1111', in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. VIII (Munich: LexMA, 1997), pp. 336–37; Tilman Struve, 'Investiturstreit, -problem, I. Investiturstreit', in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, V, 479–82; and Stefan Weinfurter, 'Ponte Mammolo, Vertrag v.', in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. VII (Munich: LexMA, 1995), p. 93.

APPENDIX


Sitzing
Oct. 27, 1143
Prague
Bohemia
1143
Paris
1141-1142
Clairvaux
Sens
1140 or 1141
2
3
5
4
Passau
Vienna
Cluny
Zürich
probably until 1143
1
Brescia
until April 1139
6
Rome
since Dec. 1143
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